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ADAMNANI
VITA S. COLUMBAE

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ADAMNANI

VITA S. COLUMBAE

EDITED FROM DR. REEVES'S TEXT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON EARLY IRISH CHURCH HISTORY

NOTES AND A GLOSSARY

BY

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PREFACE

Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* has long been thought worthy to rank with such works as Jonas's *Life of Columbanus*, Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, and Eddius's *Life of St. Wilfrid*, as one of the most interesting and valuable early biographies extant. Yet it is not a 'Life' in the ordinary sense, but rather, as described in the colophon, *virtutum libelli Columbae*, three books recording respectively the prophecies, the miracles, and the angelic visions of the saint. The last book concludes with a beautiful account of his last hours, reminding us of what we are told of Cuthbert and of Bede, and we would gladly have had the whole of Columba's life in the same form. That, however, was not the plan of the author. He aimed at hagiology, not at biography or history. Nevertheless his work is full of allusions throwing great light on early Celtic monasticism, and on the introduction of Christianity into the western and northern parts of what is now called Scotland. Dr. Reeves has collected hundreds of references to passages bearing upon the constitution, the discipline, the buildings, and the officers of St. Columba's monastery at Iona and upon the topography of that most interesting little island. Attention will be directed to many of these in the present edition, which is intended principally for the use of junior students in our Universities or elsewhere, to

whom the well-nigh exhaustive work of the late Bishop Reeves is scarcely accessible in either of the forms in which it has appeared. His notes, introductions, &c. have furnished much of the information here given, though by no means the whole of it. A brief sketch of the history of the Irish Church and of the Columban mission down to the death of Adamnan is prefixed, and a glossary is appended.

There are two recensions of the text, the longer or original Life, and the shorter, which is abridged from it.

The following are the seven MSS. which furnished Dr. Reeves with his collection of various readings, the most important of which will be given in these pages.

A*. Beginning of eighth century, formerly at the monastery of Reichenau, now in the public library at Schaffhausen. Attributed in the colophon to Dorbhene, who is identified by Reeves with Dorbhene, abbot of Iona, who died 713, only nine years after the death of Adamnan. Facsimiles in Reeves (1857), Plates 1, 2, 3. The basis of Reeves's text, in which, however, the original spelling has not been followed, as being 'barbarous, or at least provincial.' Its characteristics may be gathered from Reeves (1857), xvii–xix, and from the various readings given by him. There is a great similarity between this MS. and that of the so-called 'Antiphonary' of Bangor (A.D. 680-691) recently published in facsimile by the Henry Bradshaw Society. See Warren's Introduction to it, p. xxvi.

B*. Middle of fifteenth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Reg.* 8 D. ix.

C†. The Windberg or Rebdorf MS., from which Canisius took his text.

D†. Thirteenth century. In the so-called 'Book of Kilkenny,' in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, v. 3. 4.

F†. Tenth century; formerly belonged to the Church of Freising; was numbered 141, and is now in the Royal Library of Munich, 6341. Facsimile in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4.

S†. Early ninth century, in Library of St. Gall, No. 555.

* The full recension. † The short recension.

Facsimile of writing in Reeves (1857), Pl. 4, and of figure of St. Columba (with the Roman tonsure), Pl. 5.

Cott.* Cottonianus. Late twelfth century. Brit. Mus. *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, D.* iii. Much damaged in the fire of 1731, being 'burnt to a crust,' but restored as far as possible by the separation, flattening, and inlaying of the consolidated leaves, under the direction of Sir Frederick Madden, *c.* 1852.

Five others were reported to exist; see Reeves.

The printed editions that have appeared are the following:—

I. In the *Antiquae Lectiones* of Canisius, Ingolst. 1604. See MS. C. An unsatisfactory text.

II. In Surii *Vitae SS.* 1617, Jun. 9.

III. In the *Florilegium* of Thomas Messingham, who reprinted the Canisian text. Parisiis, 1624.

IV. In the *Trias Thaumaturga* of John Colgan, from Cod. A. Lovanii, 1647.

V. In the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, also from Cod. A, but less faithfully given. *Acta SS. Junii*, tom. ii, Jun. 9.

VI. In Basnage's *Thesaurus*, as a reprint of the defective text of Canisius. Amstelaedami, 1725 (some copies have *Antverpiae*).

VII. In Pinkerton's *Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum*, Lond. 1789 (100 copies only).

VIII. For the first time in a separate form, as 'The Life of St. Columba, founder of Hy, written by Adamnan, ninth abbot of that monastery . . . (with notes and dissertations) by William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A. . . . Dublin: printed at the University Press, for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1857.' Founded upon Codex A. Two maps, five plates of facsimiles, two genealogical tables. 4to, pp. lxxx and 497.

IX. The same, somewhat abridged and re-arranged, with some topographical notes by Dr. W. F. Skene, and a translation superintended by the late Bishop Forbes. In the series of *Historians of Scotland*, of which it forms Vol. vi. Edinburgh,

Edmonston and Douglas, ? 1871, re-issue 1874. One map, one genealogical table. 8vo, pp. clxxxiv and 385.

X. In the re-issue of Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, edited by W. M. Metcalfe. Paisley, 1889 (220 copies only).

XI. The present edition, in which Dr. Reeves's text has been adopted, with only slight variations, as *famen* for *tamen*, p. 132, *cælum* for *cœlum*, &c., and in the punctuation. In words the spelling of which varies, that recommended by Brambach (*Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung*, Leipzig, 1884) has been adopted.

Dr. Reeves gives a list of seven other Lives of St. Columba, the most important of which are:—

I. The Life by Cummene or Cummian referred to by Adamnan in Book iii. c. 5 (where see note), which Life forms the basis of this third book, and of some chapters in Books i, ii. In this edition the passages taken from Cummian are printed in italics. Cummian's Life has been printed by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* 321–324; by d'Achery and Mabillon, *Acta SS. Bened.* i. 342–349; Venet. 1733, and in the two editions of Pinkerton above mentioned[1].

II. The first part of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 325–327), wrongly attributed by him to Cummian, which contains some particulars that are in the old Irish Life, but are not recorded by Adamnan. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* was taken by him from the MS. now printed as *Acta SS. Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi.* Edinb. et Lond. 1888.

III. An ancient Irish memoir, probably of the tenth century, being a discourse for St. Columba's day on the text *Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua*, &c. Frequently referred to by Reeves, and in the present edition, as 'the old Irish Life.' Translation by Hennessy in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 467–507.

IV. An expansion of Adamnan and of the old Irish Life, written in Irish by Manus O'Donnell in 1532. The com-

[1] It has been supposed that the text of Cummian, as printed, cannot have been used by Adamnan, but is an abridgement of his Life. See Hardy, *Desc. Catal.* p. 167.

piler has worked in a number of historical allusions from Adamnan's other works, some alleged prophecies, and other legendary matter. Colgan has summarized it, omitting 'disedifying' passages, in *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 389 446.

In addition to these may be mentioned a Life by John of Tynemouth (fl. 1366) pirated by Capgrave, the Office in the Aberdeen Breviary, and a Life printed by Benedict Gonon (Lugduni, 1625), all compiled or abridged from Adamnan. See further in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* of MSS. relating to British History, i. 166–174.

Modern Lives will be found in Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Bk. ix, and in Alban Butler and Baring-Gould under June 9 (the latter condensed from Montalembert); Reeves's *Adamnan* (1857), lxviii–lxxx; the same (1874), xxxiii–xli; Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*, 291–331; Dictionaries of Christian Biography and of National Biography; and in the Rev. E. A. Cooke's *Life and Work of St. Columba*, London and Derby, 1888. A short account, moreover, is included in the Introduction to the present work. The Life by Dr. John Smith, Edinb. 1798, is not of much value.

I cannot conclude this preface without again saying how much I am indebted to Dr. Reeves's original edition of Adamnan, a truly monumental work, which has been of the greatest service to all writers on St. Columba from Montalembert downward. In this connexion I would refer to the interesting Life of Dr. Reeves by Lady Ferguson, just published, which includes a complete list of his numerous printed works and articles in various publications. Nor can I forego the pleasure of expressing my best thanks to all who have helped me by their friendly counsel during my editorial labours. Among these I feel especially indebted to our greatest historical scholar, the Bishop of Oxford, to my near kinsman Dr. Fowler, President of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, and to my old friend Dr. Sanday, sometime Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, and now Ireland Professor of Exegesis and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. I would also mention my friends Dr. Robertson, the present Principal of Hatfield, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken, and Dr. G. T. Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity College, Dublin, whose good offices were of great service to me during a visit to Ireland in 1893, and whose complete restoration to his former health is now most sincerely to be desired. My thanks are also due to the Rev. Archibald Macmillan, Parish Minister at Iona, who gave me the benefit of his sympathetic companionship and of his great local knowledge when I last visited St. Columba's isle, to the Rev. Charles Plummer, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who has kindly helped me to explain some Irish words, and to the Rev. E. S. Wilson, F.S.A., Vicar of Winterton, who has most carefully revised the Index.

Bishop Hatfield's Hall,
June 9, 1894.

CORRIGENDA

(*See* p. xcv)

Page xxxi, l. 9, *for* also, *read* possibly
,, xxxv, l. 22, *for* one mass, one celebration, *read* one celebration of mass
.. lvi, *for* He belonged, &c., *read* He belonged to the race of Conall Gulban, from which were descended the O'Donnells and other clans who claim 'St. Columcille' as their patron and kinsman
,, lxv, n. 4, for *I ou*, read *Iou*
,, lxxvii, l. 6, *for* Ireland, *read* the island
.. lxxx, § 8, side note, *read* Adamnan
679–704
His childhood
.. 8, l. 10, *read* caelo
.. 23, n. 9, *omit* Southern Hy-Neill, *and* the descendants . . . Hostages
.. 39, l. 1, *read* CAELITUS
.. 40, marg., *read* Durrow
.. 50, l. 8, *read* populos
.. 51, l. 6, *read* omnia ; l. 13, *read* tui
.. 61, l. 19, *read* MULTA ; l. 25, *read* ipse et
.. 62, n. 1, *read* were a branch of the Northern Hy-Neill, descended from Conall Gulban, &c.
.. ,, n. 3, l. 2, *omit* or O'Neills ; in l. 5, *read* Hy-Neill ; l. 7, *omit the reference*
.. 63, n. 3, and Index, *read* Fern cover or corner.
.. 96, l. 26, *read* faciem
.. 116, l. 13, *read* supradictam
.. 127, l. 20, *read* subvenientium
.. 131, n. 5, *read* here that on which the monastery stood, in the present King's County
,. 174, l. 20, *read* Gen. i. 21 (173)
.. 177, *read* Bangor, four places, &c.
.. ,, *read* Bior, 1. The Moyola Water, p. 193 ; 2. *see* p. 131, n. 5, *as amended*
,. 179, Cenannus, *read* the ancient name
,, 193, *read* Moville, the ancient Maghbile, in Co. Down, about a mile NE. of Newtownards. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 14

In Glossary add,

Hic, used as Article, 77, 150. Rönsch, 420.
Intingo, to immerse in or put into, 10, 74, 75, 76, 101.
Praesul, abbot, 2, 3, 24, 164. See Ducange s. v.
Sanitas, healing, 10, 100, 101. Rönsch, 274.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Pre-Patrician Period.

§ 1. We know comparatively little of Christianity in Ireland before the fifth century, in Scotland before the sixth, or in England before the seventh. But from the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland *c.* 432, of St. Columba in Scotland in 563, of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Aidan at Lindisfarne in 635, we have fairly consecutive accounts of the progress of the Church in these islands. In Wales and in Cornwall, and indeed at Glastonbury, the ancient British Christianity was still living on when the tide of Anglo-Saxon Christianity reached thus far westward. The work of St. Ninian and others had left some fruit in parts of Scotland when Irish Christianity began to spread from Iona, as from a new centre, into all parts of northern Britain. Early Christianity.

§ 2. But it is with Ireland that we are mainly concerned in connexion with St. Columba, for he was born in Ireland, and he lived in Ireland until, at the age of forty-two, he went out from his own country and from his father's house, to end his life's work in another land. In order to understand his life and mission, we ought to know something of the early history of his country, of the traditions in which he was brought up. We propose In Ireland.

then, first to state some of the peculiar circumstances in which the first Christian missionaries in Ireland found themselves, and then to give a brief sketch of Irish Church history to the death of Adamnan.

Britain and Ireland compared.

§ 3. One great difference between Britain and Ireland in the earlier centuries after the Christian era was this, that while Britain was an integral portion of the great Roman Empire, Ireland was not. Hence in early Christian times the decrees of Emperors and Councils did not run in Ireland, nor was it materially affected, if at all, by Roman civilization. Britain and Ireland were distinguished in the fifth century, and doubtless long before, as 'the Roman island' and 'the barbarous island[1].' Britain, indeed, became very largely influenced, first by Roman, and then by Teutonic occupation and institutions, while Ireland remained, during the period with which we are concerned, purely Celtic. And in her missionary work the Church moulded her organizations as far as possible on those which she found already existing. In England, for example, where the dioceses and parishes are founded on the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and on their minor subdivisions, our system has been from the first essentially territorial. In Ireland the early monastic and missionary system was almost from the first a part of the ancient clan system, to which it readily adapted itself.

Early monasticism and the clan system.

§ 4. It was necessary at the very first that the life of the converts should be in some sort coenobitic; they could hardly have lived otherwise in a pagan and half-savage land. And these earliest Christian communities were in many cases the beginnings of societies which afterwards became more strictly monastic, importations in fact, through Gaul, of Egyptian and Syrian monachism into the clan system that had prevailed for centuries in Ireland, the spirit of which

[1] Prosper of Aquitaine, *Contra Collatorem*, in Augustini Opp. ed. Bened. 1700, t. x. App. col. 132; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. li.

pervaded the ancient Irish Church throughout the whole period of its independent existence. Many of the earliest converts were persons who had been redeemed from servitude by the missionaries, who were supplied from abroad with funds for the purpose. But the evangelization of Ireland was not quite that earliest Christian work of all, in which 'not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called[1].' The Celtic missionaries aimed at the conversion of the petty kings or chieftains at the heads of the clans, and of their Druids and Bards, knowing that if once these could be secured, the clansmen would follow their leaders in religion as in all else[2]. Their old religion had no great hold on the common people, and in many cases, no doubt, the new doctrine would have as little. Nevertheless, the pagan life of the country was transformed into a Christian life, with comparatively little organic change.

§ 5. The Christian hierarchy, in which the bishops, though always felt to be absolutely essential, held a very subordinate rank, in some sort succeeded to the Druids and the Brehons; the pagan Bards became Christian Bards, and the main peculiarities in the Irish monastic tenure of land arose out of the ancient relations between chieftains and clansmen. When land was granted to any ecclesiastic by its original owner, the rights of chieftainry were transferred to the ecclesiastical landlord, and descended, as before, in hereditary succession. The comarb or co-arb (says Dr. Todd)[3] that is to say, the heir or successor of the original saint who was the founder of the religious society, whether bishop or abbot, became the inheritor of his spiritual and official influence in

Subordination of bishops.

[1] 1 Cor. i. 26.

[2] 'To a clannish people it is not merely a habit, but a matter of necessity, to follow a guide—to be led by a superior and unquestionable authority. They care not for arguments, proofs, or reasons. They ask only to receive a command from a chieftain, whose right to command nobody can dream of questioning. It is not too much to say that this spirit of clanship is the key to Irish history.'—Todd's *St. Patrick*, 1864, p. 227.

[3] *St. Patrick*, p. 149.

religious matters. The descendants in blood, or 'founder's kin,' were inheritors of the temporal rights of property and chieftainship, although bound to exercise those rights in subjection or subordination to the ecclesiastical co-arb, that is, to the successor inheriting the lands that had been granted to the first in the series of abbots or bishops, heir also to his ecclesiastical status and temporal rights.

Three learned 'orders' in pagan times.

§ 6. Previous to the introduction of Christianity[1], there were three classes of learned men among the Celtic tribes of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, namely, the Druids, the Bards, and the Brehons. It seems probable that these were the result of a gradual subdivision of labour, the Bards being first distinguished from the Druids, and afterwards the Brehons from the Bards. These orders, if indeed they were distinct orders, were not hereditary[2]; they corresponded in the main with what are called 'the professional classes' among ourselves.

The Druids.

§ 7. Caesar, who had abundant opportunity of knowing about the Druids of Gaul, tells us a great deal about them, but how far his account would apply to those of Ireland we do not know. Those of Gaul were at any rate concerned with religion and sacrifices, with legal decisions, and also in the instruction of youth. Their system was found in Britain, and was thought to have been brought thence into Gaul. They were excused from military service and from tribute, and accordingly many youths sought admission into the order. They taught the immortality and transmigration of souls, and thus excited men to deeds of valour and disregard of death. They offered human sacrifices, sometimes having huge images woven of osiers, the limbs of which they filled with living men to be burnt alive, criminals if to be had, but if not,

[1] On Pre-Christian Ireland see Olden, *Church of Ireland*, ch. I.

[2] In later ages the legal profession tended to become hereditary in certain families. Joyce, *Hist.* 40.

innocent persons[1]. Pliny gives a minute account of the ceremonies with which they cut the misletoe from the sacred oak, and of the virtues which they attributed to it, calling it by a name which meant 'All-heal.' From their great reverence for oak groves, and their association of these with sacred rites, he thinks the name 'Druid' may be derived, the name of the oak being δρῦς in Greek[2]; it is however Celtic[3]. He tells also of their ceremonial gathering of the herbs *selago* and *samolus*[4], and gives a not very intelligible and to some extent clearly fabulous account of their doings with the *anguinum* or snake's egg, not apparently an actual egg, but some sort of a concretion[5]. Also, after speaking of magical arts in Gaul, he says that they continued within living memory, but that the rule of Tiberius abolished their Druids and all that race of soothsayers and medicine-men[6]. Tacitus refers to their vain and superstitious songs[7], and describes a momentary panic among the Roman soldiers invading Mona (Anglesea) caused by women rushing about with torches, and Druids with hands upraised to heaven, putting up dire supplications[8]. It is remarkable how little there is, almost nothing, about Druids in the writings of the early Christian fathers; but in early Irish poems and legends, and in lives of Irish Saints, they are frequently referred to[9], mostly as magicians or sorcerers, also as worshipping idols, paying idolatrous worship to springs of water, making use of the yew, the rowan-tree,

[1] *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 13, 14, 16. The whole account is most interesting, and should be consulted.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 44, § 95.

[3] Irish *draoi*, *druidh*, augur, magician. The Druids are often called *magi* both in classical and in Christian writings. In connexion with Druidical groves, it is remarkable how many of the earliest Irish Christian settlements, as Derry, Durrow, and Kildare, began at groves of oak, and took their names from them, *daire* being the old Irish word for oak.

[4] *H. N.* xxiv. 11, §§ 62, 63. The plants referred to are the *Lycopodium Selago* or Fir Club-moss, and the *Samolus Valerandi* or Water Pimpernel. See Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.* (1890), 253.

[5] *H. N.* xxix. 3, § 12.

[6] *H. N.* xxx. 1, § 4.

[7] *Hist.* iv. 54.

[8] *Ann.* xiv. 29, 30.

[9] E.g. in the present work. See Index, s.v. *Magi*; Colg. *A. SS.* 149, 15.

and the blackthorn in the ordeal by fire, &c. But there seems to be some doubt whether they were, in Ireland at any rate, a distinct order. They were often engaged in teaching, and kings and chiefs, as well as learned men, were frequently Druids. There appears to be no ground for regarding them as priests of any special worship, nor any for imputing human sacrifice, or the worship of fire, or of the heavenly bodies, to those of Ireland[1]. All reference to the Druids was carefully expunged from the ancient laws of Ireland when they were revised in early Christian times. They continued, however, to live on, perhaps as little more than mere conjurors and wizards, in some remote districts, long after Ireland had become generally Christian, and it is thought that their influence long survived in the Celtic church, and even survives to this day in some of the superstitions of the peasantry[2]. That idolatry was by no means extinct when the Stowe Missal was drawn up (ninth or tenth century) might at first sight appear from a petition for the founder of some church, that he and all the people might be delivered 'ab idulorum cultura[3].' The form, however, may be very much earlier.

The Bards.

§ 8. The Bards[4] (*carminatores*) were the poets and chroniclers, who related events and legendary or historical stories, probably, as a rule, in verse and with musical recitation and accompaniment, as Diodorus says they did in Gaul[5]. They eulogized the friends

[1] For a very full *catena* of references to Druids in ancient Irish writings see O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., ii. 179–228, and for a summary, Joyce, *Hist.* 137–139.

[2] For instance, Carleton, in his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1860, vol. i. p. 152 n., says, 'I have no hesitation in asserting that the bulk of the uneducated peasantry really believe that the priests have this power,' i.e. of translating the Protestants into asses, or of making people go mad, diseased in body, &c., the very powers that had been attributed to the Druids.

[3] Warren, pp. 236, 260.

[4] Old Celtic *bardo-s*, whence *βάρδος*, *bardus*, a minstrel poet.

[5] *Hist.* lib. v. 31. A passage from the Life of St. Kieran in Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* 460 a, well illustrates this statement. 'Ipse rex Mumeniae Aengussius cytharistas habuit optimos, qui dulciter coram eo acta heroum in carmine citharizantes canebant,' &c. See also Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.* Dist. iii. 11, 12.

and satirized[1] the foes of their chief and clan, and always looked for rewards. There was no essential antagonism to Christianity in their order, nor was it broken up in any way thereby. They simply became Christian instead of pagan, and 'when once blessed and transformed, their songs became so sweet that the angels of God leaned down from heaven to listen to them[2].' In St. Columba's time they had become very unpopular by reason of their grasping importunity and their overwhelming numbers. They had free quarters wherever they went, and were envied on account of this and other privileges. About A. D. 575 a famous convention[3] was held at Drumceatt, one main object of which was the abolition of the bards. St. Columba, who, it has been thought, may have been himself of their number, was a relation of King Aedh, and one of the most influential persons in the kingdom. He favoured reform, not abolition; he defended the order while condemning abuses. He called attention to their valuable services in preserving the national records and traditions, and finally carried the assembly with him. The Bards were saved, but reformed. Their privileges were curtailed, and their numbers[4] diminished. Their retainers[5], who had always been a great burden on the public, were either abolished, or at any rate maintained by their masters, who now had certain lands assigned to them in lieu of their former privileges. Thus they became shorn of much of their early importance. Nevertheless the chief bard, Dallan Forghaill, in gratitude to Columba, composed a poem in his honour called the *Amhra Coluimcille*, still extant, in very ancient and obscure Irish. In the Middle Ages, every district had its Bard and its Brehon, and the office of Bard was hereditary. In the Book of Mac Firbis (A. D. 1650) is a list

[1] Cp. O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., ii. 70, 217.

[2] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Engl. ed. 1861, ii. 392. See also the quotation from Keble below, in a note on cap. xliv. p. 121.

[3] Mentioned by Adamnan, pp. 61, 77.

[4] Amounting, it is said, to about a third of the population.

[5] Thirty for an *Ollamh* or chief bard, fifteen for an *Anrot*, one of the second class.

of those who had flourished within the last 600 years, with the districts to which they belonged[1]. The Christian bards continued to live on through century after century of gradual decadence, until, in the present reign, their last representatives were reduced, in the general ruin of the national literature of Ireland, to a chair by the kitchen fire in winter, and a meal on the doorstep in summer[2].

The Brehons.

§ 9. The Brehons[3] or judges were an order which grew out of that of the Bards. At first the laws were in the form of rhythmical maxims transmitted orally, but afterwards committed to writing. Those who had the charge and administration of these laws formed a distinct order, but sometimes the same man was both Bard and Brehon. A Christian redaction of the ancient laws of Ireland has been preserved under the names of *Senchus Mòr* (Great Antiquity), *Cain Patraic* (Patrick's Law) and *Noi-fis* (Knowledge of Nine)[4]. In the Senchus itself it is stated that its 'authors,' i. e. redactors, in St. Patrick's time were three kings, three ecclesiastics, and three men of science[4],

> Laeghaire, Core, Dairi, the hardy,
> Patrick, Benen, Cairnec, the just,
> Rossa, Dubhthach, Ferghus, with science,
> These were the nine pillars of the Senchus Mòr.

The laws thus laid down and revised from time to time, with the old Irish commentaries upon them, have been published with introductions and translations[5], and enable us to see what sort of enactments the Brehons administered. They continued the exercise of judicial functions beyond the

[1] See Petrie on the Book of Mac Firbis, Trans. R. I. A., vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, p. 5.

[2] Dict. of National Biography, Art. *Columba*, p. 411; cp. O'Curry, *Manners*, &c., iii. 406.

[3] From the Old Irish *brithem*, a judge.

[4] It may be noted that the ancient Roman laws were made conformable to Christian doctrine and morality, and issued as the 'Theodosian Code,' only a few years previously (A. D. 438). The Salic law was a similar revision of the pagan laws of the Franks, made early in the same century.

[5] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vols. i–iv. Brehon Law Commission Office, Dublin, 1865–1879.

limits of the English pale, until the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of the native chieftains was finally broken, and English law was established throughout the kingdom.

The 'Three Orders' and the Church.

§ 10. Now the Druids, Bards, Brehons, were all flourishing at the time of the effectual introduction of Christianity into Ireland, and all were affected by it, as we have seen. The Druids could not, of course, become Christians without effacing themselves as Druids, but there was no reason why the other two orders should not go on as Christian poets, judges, lawyers, and men of letters, as in fact they did, retaining their ancient titles, and little changed in anything but their religion[1]. Some of the authority of the Druids naturally passed on to the abbots and bishops, who from the first would find that they had to deal with men of cultivated minds, sharpened by study, capable of taking in new ideas, often quick to recognize the beauty and value of Christian teaching, and prepared to accept it in preference to their ancient mythology, venerable as that must have been in their eyes[2].

Christians before St. Patrick.

§ 11. That there were some Christians in Ireland, or of Irish birth, before the coming of St. Patrick, appears from various passages in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils*, &c.[3], in which they are mentioned. The British Church of the fourth century, as Dr. G. T. Stokes observes, 'proved its interest in theological questions by the most vigorous and satisfactory of proofs. It produced a heretic[4].' Pelagius, the founder of the Pelagian heresy, was a Briton named Morgan, a contempla-

[1] Sedulius, the Christian poet, author of the well-known hymns *A solis ortus cardine* and *Hostis Herodes impie*, has been claimed as an early Christian bard of Ireland by some who have confounded him with an Irish theologian of the same name who lived in the eighth century (*Dict. of Hymnology*, 1037; Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 291 n.).

[2] See O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 73.

[3] Vol. II, Part ii, pp. 289–291. It is to be observed that in writings of this period the Irish are denoted by the term *Scoti*. See p. 5, note 7.

[4] *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 1888, p. 12.

tive student, hating controversy. But his chief friend and companion was Caelestius, a 'Scot' or Irishman, a lawyer, and a 'born agitator.' He was the great champion of Pelagianism at Rome, at Constantinople, at Mopsuestia. He is believed to be referred to by St. Jerome as 'indoctus calumniator . . . stolidissimus, et Scotorum pultibus praegravatus[1].' The last we hear of Caelestius is that at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, he supported the Patriarch Nestorius against the Pope. Caelestius was clearly a thorn in the side of orthodoxy, and this fact may have directed the Pope's attention to the land of his nativity. Prosper of Aquitaine says[2], 'ad Scotos (the Irish) in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Caelestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur,' and elsewhere[3] praises Caelestine for the same, and for his endeavours to keep the Roman island Catholic, and to make the barbarous island Christian. We hear nothing further of this mission of Palladius until we are told in the Life of St. Patrick by Muirchu Maccumactheni[4], *c.* A.D. 700 or later, that it proved altogether abortive[5].

[1] *Com. in Jerem.* Prolog. (*c.* A.D. 416). This allusion to Irish 'stirabout' is well illustrated by a remarkable passage in the Senchus Mòr (*Ancient Laws*, ii. 149), in which the various kinds of stirabout suitable for the children in various grades of society are described.

[2] *Chron.* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. li. an. 431, col. 595.

[3] *Contra Collatorem*, cap. xxi, in Migne ut supra, col. 271.

[4] In the *Book of Armagh*; printed in Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite Life*, and in *Analecta Bollandiana*.

[5] Dr. F. Loofs, now Professor at Halle, in his learned essay *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque ecclesiae*, Lips. et Lond. 1882, comes to two conclusions, (1) that St. Patrick probably did visit Italy and had some kind of connexion *cum Romanis*, p. 50, (2) that Patrick and Palladius were probably one and the same person, p. 51. Mr. Olden maintains, with much learning and ingenuity, that the true St. Patrick was the Sen Patrick or Patrick senior of Irish records, that he preceded Palladius, labouring in Ireland and never leaving the country, that his name dropped out of memory owing to its being impossible to connect him with a Roman mission, and that in the ninth century, by the blending of the acts of Palladius, and some employment of fiction, the St. Patrick of popular belief, the missionary of Caelestine I, the Archbishop and Apostle of Ireland, came into existence. *Church of Ireland*, 1892, ch. ii and Appendix A.

II. St. Patrick.

§ 1. The connected history of the Church in Ireland begins with what is known of St. Patrick, but with regard to him all critical writers have found it most difficult to extract what may safely be regarded as historically true, or indeed to know what is truth amid so much that is manifest fable. *Legendae sunt lugendae*[1], the lamentation of a learned Jesuit, is particularly applicable to the case of St. Patrick. The primary authorities are his own 'Confession,' a sort of *Apologia pro vita sua*, and his Epistle 'to' or rather 'on' or 'concerning' Coroticus or Caredig, a Welsh prince. The Confession is found in the *Book of Armagh*, a composite volume written *c.* A.D. 807, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin[2]. The copy of the Confession professes to be taken from one in St. Patrick's own writing, and it certainly shows many signs of authenticity. Its Latin is rude and semibarbarous in grammar and spelling, its Scripture quotations are from the ante-Hieronymian Latin, which, however, was used in Ireland concurrently with the Vulgate long after his time, it speaks of Britain in the plural number (Britanniae)[3], it refers to married clergy engaged in secular pursuits, one, a deacon, being also a Roman *decurio*, it contains no miracles, nor any mention of St. Patrick's having been in Rome or even in Gaul, mentions certain simple incidents in a remarkably naïve and truth-like manner, and is altogether just what

Authorities for life of St. Patrick.

[1] Quoted from the Abbé Feller, in Kenelm Digby's *Morus*, p. 40.

[2] The documents relating to St. Patrick contained in the *Book of Armagh* are printed in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i. 530–585, ii. 35–68, and in Stokes's *Tripartite Life*, 269–375. Both of these works contain minute descriptions of this famous MS., and the latter has a complete index to all the events there related of St. Patrick. The *Confessio, Epistola*, &c. are in Haddan and Stubbs, II, ii. pp. 296 sq. English translations of the *Confessio*, &c. have been published in Olden's *Epistles and Hymn of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1876) and in Wright's *Writings of St. Patrick* (Rel. Tract Soc.).

[3] See below, p. 6 n.

might be expected in a genuine composition of St. Patrick. Being mainly autobiographic, it is most valuable for our purpose. The Epistle on Coroticus is a strong remonstrance against that prince and his soldiers, who had slain some of the newly baptized converts, and carried others captive, and relates that when a holy presbyter and clerks were sent with a letter to intercede for them, and ask for a return of some of the plunder, they were repulsed with laughter. The style is exactly that of the Confession, and it gives some additional particulars about St. Patrick. It is not in the *Book of Armagh*, but is referred to in a MS. of the tenth century supplementing the last part of that compilation, found at Brussels [1]. The earliest historical mention of St. Patrick, after his own times, is in Cummian's letter to Seghine on the Easter question, in 634; he is there called 'Patricius, Papa noster.' The silence of Bede is accounted for by his small intercourse with Ireland, and by his great dislike to the Celtic party; it may be compared with the silence of Josephus about the Christians [2]. In the *Book of Armagh* are notes on the life of St. Patrick by Tirechan [3], a disciple of St. Ultan (d. A.D. 656), and the life already mentioned, written about the end of the seventh century by Muirchu Maccumachtheni. The writings of St. Patrick himself appear to be the only documents on which we can place much reliance. The two last-named, however, though full of doubtful and legendary matters, probably give the substance of documents and traditions reaching back to St. Patrick's time, and stand on quite a different footing from the *Tripartite Life*, the Life by Jocelin, and other mediaeval compilations, on which, directly or indirectly, the traditional fame of St. Patrick so largely rests [4].

[1] G. T. Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 28 n.; *Anal. Boll.* i. 539. W. Stokes, *Tripartite*, 375. On the Hymn of St. Sechnall, &c., see below, § 5.

[2] Adamnan makes only one allusion to St. Patrick, and that quite incidental. See Praef. ii. p. 4 n. But the nature of his works hardly required any such reference.

[3] Stokes, *Tripart.* 302.

[4] There is a mass for the feast

§ 2. We gather from the *Confessio* that Patrick was born 'in Britanniis[1].' His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, farmer, and *decurio* or 'town-councillor'; his grandfather Potitus, a presbyter. Calpurnius resided in his own *villula*, 'in vico Bannauem Taberniae[2].' The *Hymn of St. Fiacc*[3] says he was born in Nemthur, and gives his names as Patraicc, Succat, and Cothraige. When sixteen years old he was carried captive by Irish pirates, perhaps led by King Niall 'of the Nine Hostages,' into Antrim, where he spent six years in tending cattle, as the slave of one Milchu, probably in the valley of the Braid, near the hill of Slemish. According to his own account, during his boyhood he 'knew not the true God,' that is to say, he was an average boy, with no very serious thoughts or sense of personal relation with God. He must have been well instructed in his religion, and its vital truths came home to him when he was in trouble. Some sin which he had committed when about fifteen weighed heavily on his conscience; his hardships and his sorrows sent him to God, and the fear and love of God increased in him day by day. His own most interesting account of his experiences at this time and subsequently is too long to quote here; it should be read in the Confession itself. At last he heard in a dream a voice saying that he should soon return to his native land, and then another voice that told him his ship was ready. Having served for six years

St. Patrick's boyhood, captivity, and escape.

of St. Patrick in the Sarum Missal, but there are no Proper Lessons in any of the old English Breviaries; in that of Aberdeen however are nine lessons recounting some of what were the most popular legends, including that of his going to Rome to receive consecration from Pope Caelestine. In the Roman Breviary (Norwich, 1830) are three lessons mostly based on the Confession and therefore historical, but the Caelestine legend is introduced. Colgan gives seven offices of St. Patrick and one of the Transl. of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Bridget.

[1] 'Old Kilpatrick,' near Dumbarton, probably preserves the memory of the place, and the date appears to be about 375.

[2] Not identified under that name.

[3] Not earlier than the latter part of the sixth cent. See Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 360 n.

he took to flight, God guided him to the ship, and, after being at first refused a passage, he was taken by the shipmen. They landed in three days, and for twenty-eight days wandered through a wilderness, possibly in North Britain, the *patria* of his dreams[1]. After some strange but not improbable experiences, he escaped from the men, who seem to have held him in a sort of captivity, and so again 'after a few years,' apparently those of his six years' captivity and his escape, he was once more in his father's house, received as a son, and implored, after so many tribulations, never to leave it.

His mission: difficulties in the chronology.

§ 3. But he longed to carry the Gospel to the people among whom it had first come home with power to his own soul, whose language he had learned, to whose ways he had become accustomed. In the visions of the night he saw a man of Ireland, who called him to go over and help them. Sooner or later, he obeyed this call, and was consecrated bishop. He is said to have gone into Gaul and to have studied with St. Germanus of Auxerre and with St. Martin of Tours. and to have gone to Rome to obtain consecration and mission from Pope Caelestine I. There is however no evidence for these statements in St. Patrick's own writings or in the hymn of St. Sechnall (*c.* 448). In St. Fiacc's hymn (*c.* 590) we have the Germanus story, in Tirechan's Collections (*c.* 650 ?)[2] the Caelestine legend is added, but in Muirchu's memoir (*c.* 690) we are told, without any mention of Caelestine, that he studied with St. Germanus, and that he afterwards went to St. Martin, who died eighteen

[1] Mr. Olden infers from the mention of dogs in the *Confessio* that the sailors were engaged in the exporting of Celtic dogs into Gaul, that they would be glad to have Patrick with them as one who spoke Latin, and that the scene of the wanderings was somewhere near the Loire, which would explain his alleged sojourn in Gaul with St. Martin. The whole argument should be seen in Olden's *Church of Ireland*, 1892, pp. 16–19, 420.

[2] In the sentence immediately preceding is mentioned an event that occurred in 877. *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205 a.

years before Germanus became bishop of Auxerre, so that all this story is very suspicious. In the later lives, the man Victoricus, who appeared to St. Patrick in a dream, develops into his guardian angel Victor, and, as usual, the later we come down, the more particulars we find. Dr. Todd regards the whole story of St. Patrick's connexion with St. Germanus and mission from St. Caelestine as transferred from a lost history of Palladius, who was also named Patricius, to the more famous St. Patrick[1]. With regard to St. Patrick's ordination, we learn from his own Confession that he confessed the boyish sin above mentioned before he was a deacon, but that it was brought up against him when he was to be made a bishop. The difficulty was overcome; we have no information, however, as to where or by whom the consecration was effected.

§ 4. The more or less doubtful particulars of St. Patrick's life, as gathered from Tirechan, Muirchu, and others, have been woven into consecutive narratives by many writers during the last few years, and we must do no more here than refer our readers to some of these, merely mentioning that he is said to have landed in Wicklow harbour about A. D. 432, to have met with a hostile reception, and then to have sailed northward with his companions, touching at St. Patrick's Isle, and landing on the shores of Strangford Lough. Here they made a convert of one Dichu, who gave St. Patrick a barn for his first church, now represented by that of Saul (*Sabhall*, barn); that St. Patrick next sought out his old master Milchu, who, warned by his Druids, set fire to his house and goods, and perished in the flames rather than risk being converted, or witness the triumphs of Patrick; that he next went to Tara at the great annual convention, and that many of the chief men were converted, King

His landing in Ireland to his death and burial.

[1] St. Patrick, 314–321. It has been supposed that there were two Patricks as well as Palladius, whose acts have been blended. See Petrie, in *Trans. R. I. A.* vol. xviii, *Antiquities*, pp. 115–118.

Laeghaire (Leary) himself being baptized, though continuing pagan at heart, and at last buried with pagan rites at his own request. Next, he repaired to the neighbouring station of Teltown, where a brother of Laeghaire was converted, and the present church of Donaghpatrick founded. He then laboured in Connaught and Ulster, and obtained a grant of land for the church of Armagh, whence arose the primacy which that see still enjoys. Afterwards he laboured in Munster, and took part in the revision of the Brehon laws. Finally, in his old age, his heart turned to the scenes of his earliest successes as a missionary, and he died at Saul, the barn-church. It is said that there was a contention between the men of Armagh and the men of Down as to which should shelter his body, and one point among others in which he was said to resemble Moses was that no one knew where his body lay until St. Columba pointed out the true resting-place at Saul, by which is probably meant Downpatrick, about two miles S.W. The weight of evidence however seems to be in favour of Armagh [1].

His influence, and his literary remains.

§ 5. Whatever may be the amount of truth in what is commonly stated about St. Patrick, there is no doubt that he exercised a great influence on the local 'kings' or chieftains, who were, as we have seen, commonly followed by their clans, and he may rightly be venerated as 'the Apostle' of Ireland, although many of the people remained unconverted, and continued to regard him with hostility. In the Confession, written towards the close of his life, he says that he was in daily expectation of being put to death [2] or driven back to slavery, and a partial apostasy appears to have taken place during the

[1] See Olden, in *Proc. R. I. A.* third ser., ii. 655.

[2] When in the twelfth century it was objected by a Roman ecclesiastic that the Irish Church had never produced a single martyr, the retort made by Maurice, abp. of Cashel, was that, however barbarous the Irish might have been, they had never laid violent hands on the saints of God. Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.* Dist. iii. cap. 32.

two centuries following his death[1]. He left behind him, in addition to the Confession and Letter on Coroticus, a hymn in Irish called his *Lorica* or religious armour, which he is said to have sung at Tara[2]. Bishop Healy tells us that even to this day it is chanted in Irish by the peasantry in the South and West, and 'regarded as a strong shield against all evils natural and supernatural[3].' Of his own period is a Latin alphabetical hymn in his praise, written by his nephew St. Sechnall or Secundinus[4], who also wrote the hymn *Sancti, venite*, now so well known in the Church of England as 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord[5].' Some canons attributed to St. Patrick on insufficient grounds, and extracts from the *Senchus Mòr* relating to the Church, are printed in Haddan and Stubbs[6]. In the Book of Armagh are some traditional *Dicta Patritii*[7], some of which may be genuine. One has become famous through being often quoted thus, 'O Church of the Scots (Irish), nay of the Romans, as ye are Christians, be ye also Romans[8].' The original is 'Aecclesia Scotorum, immo Romanorum, ut Christiani, ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur vobiscum oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie lession, Christe lession.* Omnis aecclesia quae sequitur me cantet *Cyrie lession, Christe lession, Deo gratias.*' It will be seen that the opening words have a somewhat different complexion when taken with what follows, but even then the sentiment is hardly what we should expect from St. Patrick, judging by his undoubtedly genuine writings. In connexion with the saying *Deo gratias*, Muirchu gives a curious story of his being

[1] Stokes, *Tripartite*, cxliii; Skene, *Celtic Sc.* ii. 39.

[2] Printed, with translation, in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. 320, and elsewhere previously. See note, *ib.*, p. 323.

[3] *Insula Sanctorum*, p. 77. Mrs. Alexander's translation of this fine hymn was sung in procession in York Minster on St. Patrick's Day, 1891, at the enthronement of Archbishop Magee.

[4] Also in Haddan and Stubbs, II. ii. p. 324; see notes, *ib.*, p. 327; translation in Olden's *Epistles, &c. of St. Patrick*, p. 110.

[5] *Hymns A. and M.* No. 313. See below, p. 78 n.

[6] Vol. II. pt. ii. 328 sq.

[7] Stokes, *Tripart.* 301; Wright, *Writings*, &c. 76.

[8] E. g. in Healy, p. 87.

reported to say *Grazacham* (gratias agamus) [1], both when he received a present and when it was taken from him. (Cp. 1 Thess. v. 18.)

Legends.

§ 6. Before taking our leave of St. Patrick, we must briefly touch upon some of the principal legends on which his fame so largely rests. One is, his driving all the demons, serpents, toads, &c., out of Ireland with his pastoral staff. This appears first in the Life by Jocelin of Furness, written in the twelfth century, and subsequently in various Breviaries and Missals. The germ of the legend is the probably historical circumstance related by Tirechan, that, while Patrick was fasting during Lent alone on a mountain, he was much troubled by flocks of birds, which darkened the air (Stokes, *Trip.* 322). In the *Tripartite* the birds have become demons in the shape of black birds, and Patrick drives them away with his bell (*Ib.* 115). Jocelin says that he drove all the venomous creatures into the sea with the 'staff of Jesus,' and that from that time to his time they have altogether ceased to infest Ireland (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* 102, 103) [2].

[1] Wright, 78, where see reff.

[2] Ireland has enjoyed an immunity from snakes and some other reptiles from time immemorial. This fact is referred to by Solinus in the third cent. (*Polyhist.* xxii), by Bede in the eighth (*E.H.* i. 1), and by many other writers. The subject is fully discussed, with catenae of quotations from earlier writers, in Messingham, *Florileg. Insulae SS.* (1624) pp. 127–134, and in Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 255. The credit usually assigned to St. Patrick was given by some to Joseph of Arimathaea (Ussher, *Wks.* vi. 300). According to Thompson (*Nat. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 61–68), the following reptiles are now found in Ireland: the common lizard, *lacerta agilis*, is common in suitable localities; the harmless snake, *natrix torquata*, has often been introduced, but has no chance against the prejudice of the Irish, or their jealousy for the credit of St. Patrick; the common frog, *rana temporaria*, was introduced by Dr. Guithers in 1699, by putting frog-spawn from England into a ditch in Trinity College Park, from which the frogs spread into many parts of Ireland, where they are now common. There is a jocular similitude in Swift's '*Considerations about maintaining the Poor*,' where he says that 'society-marks' (badges of insurance offices on houses) 'spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs.' (*Wks.* 1880, vol. ii. p. 132; see note.) Giraldus has a chapter on a frog which was exhibited to vast numbers of people near Waterford *c.* 1179, and terribly alarmed the King of Ossory, who regarded it as a most sure sign of coming calamities.

St. Patrick's crosier, which may have been a genuine relic, has a wonderful story connected with it which culminates in its being given him by Christ Himself, in Lerins [1] or some other island in the Tyrrhene sea; to this crosier also belongs the legend of its having been used to drive away the reptiles. It was preserved at Armagh until after the Norman Conquest, when it was transferred to Dublin. There it remained until it was destroyed by Archbishop Browne in 1538. The story of St. Patrick's purgatory, first published by Henry of Saltrey in the twelfth century, is connected with a cave in an island in Lough Derg in Donegal, whither Irish pilgrims still resort. This one has perhaps been set up as a rival to an earlier St. Patrick's Purgatory on the top of the mountain Croagh Patrick, co. Mayo [2]. Perhaps the best known legend of all is that of St. Patrick's illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity by the leaf of the shamrock. The use of the trefoil as an emblem in Ireland is very ancient, but probably of pagan origin. None of the early or mediaeval Lives however connect it with St. Patrick, and the legend seems not to be found earlier than A.D. 1600 [3]. It is not mentioned by Colgan, who wrote in 1647.

Frogs have been seen in the island of Achill in modern times; the natterjack toad, *bufo calamita*, is said to be indigenous in Kerry; at least two kinds of water-newt, *lissotriton punctatus* and *palmipes*, are found in some localities; the blindworm, viper, great crested newt, and common toad, are not yet found in a wild state. The probable explanation of the former immunity of Ireland from reptiles is, that these creatures migrated westward, and that before our islands were separated from the Continent a certain number had travelled as far as England, and a smaller number, perhaps only the lizards, as far as Ireland, and that, when the continuity of the land was broken, their further progress was stopped. There are now twenty-two species in Belgium, eleven in England, and five in Ireland. (Ramsay, *Physical Geology*, fifth ed., p. 483.)

[1] There is no mention of Lerins in any of the earlier lives, not even in the *Tripartite*. Modern writers have been misled by the Bollandists, who thought that *Aralanensis*, of Arles (Tirechán in Stokes's *Trip.* 302), might refer to Lerins. *Acta SS.* Mar. 17, p. 528.

[2] There is a large amount of information about the Purgatory in *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. i. pp. 139–155, with Kelly's notes.

[3] For these legends see *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 205, and works there

III. Saints of the Patrician Period, and the 'Three Orders' of Irish Saints.

Early Irish Saints.

§ 1. Three of the principal of St. Patrick's contemporaries or immediate successors may now be very briefly referred to.

Benen.

Benignus, or Benen, was an early follower and life-long companion of St. Patrick, and there is a very pretty legend, possibly founded on facts, about his 'call'.' He is spoken of as the Psalm-singer, and became bishop at Armagh. He died in 468, and was accounted the Apostle and Patron of Connaught.

Bridget.

Brigida, Bridget, or Bride, 'the Mary of Ireland,' was and is scarcely less popular than St. Patrick himself. Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* consists of acts of Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, the 'three common patrons' of Ireland, according to the title. Like many other Celtic saints, she was of royal descent, but a child of shame. Received and baptized, along with her mother, by the disciples of St. Patrick, in after years she lived to be foundress and first abbess of Kildare. This house had affiliated houses of monks and of nuns all over the country and she was abbess above all other abbesses; hence her domestic bishop and his successors long had pre-eminence among the bishops of Ireland, who were, as we know[2], not uncommonly in the position of domestic chaplains subject to abbots, or even to abbesses. As in the case of St. Patrick, her fame was to a great extent the result of the legends that gathered round her memory, many of the incidents in which can be referred to paganism. (Elton, 270.) The one that most concerns us is that she prophesied of the birth of St. Columba, and of his becoming as a great tree whose top should reach over Erin

cited; on St. Patrick's Purgatory, Cusack, 621–640; Olden, 263–267; for a striking account of Lough Derg and of a pilgrimage in 1817, Carleton, *Traits and Stories*, 1860, i. 236–270.

[1] See Newell, *St. Patrick*, 81, 82.

[2] Reeves, 1857, 339–341; 1874, civ, cv; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 104.

and Albania (Scotland). She was much associated with St. Patrick, and is said to have made his winding sheet. She died about 523[1].

Mochta.

Maucteus or Mochta is mentioned by Adamnan as a British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of St. Patrick, who prophesied of St. Columba[2]. He is said to have come over to Ireland with twelve disciples and to have evangelized the county Louth; also to have founded monastic schools, first one at Kilmore (*Cella magna*) and afterwards a more famous one at Louth. He died 535. Four other monastic schools of the fifth century are treated on in Healy, ch. vi.

The Three Orders.

§ 2. It may be well now to say a few words on the 'Three Orders' of Irish saints. Our knowledge of this ancient classification is derived from a document of the middle of the eighth century[3], in which the Irish saints are divided into three distinct classes or orders, who may be severally described as secular, monastic, and eremitical. The saints of the first order, which continued for about a century after St. Patrick, were all bishops, 350 in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick[4]. They had one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear, one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what one church excommunicated all did. They did not refuse the services and society of women (or according to another MS., either laymen or women), because, founded on Christ the Rock, they feared not temptation[5]. All these were sprung from the Romans, Franks, Britons, and Scots (Irish).

[1] St. Bridget of Ireland is not to be confounded with St. Bridget of Sweden, famous for her 'revelations,' and as the foundress of the Brigittine Order of nuns, who died July 23, 1373.

[2] See Pref. 2, p. 4.

[3] Printed by Ussher and others, e. g. in *Acta SS. Hiberniae ex Cod. Salmant.* 161–164; see Reeves, 1857, 334, 1874, 233.

[4] Not even in so late a document as this, have we either here or in the account of the second order, a word about the Pope.

[5] There were women in their ecclesiastical societies or households; the stricter monastic rule had not yet come in.

The second order consisted of few bishops and many presbyters, 300 in all. They had one head, our Lord; they celebrated different masses and had different rules; their Easter and tonsure were as in the first order, but they refused the services of women, separating them from their monasteries. This order has lasted, says the document, for four reigns from the cessation of the first order. They received a mass from bishop David, and Gillas (*al.* Gildas), and Docus, the Britons[1].

The third order consisted of presbyters and a few bishops, 100 in all; they dwelt in deserts, and lived on herbs and water, and on alms; they despised private property; they had various rules, masses, tonsures, and Easters, differing among themselves. They lived during four reigns, and continued till the great mortality (A. D. 666).

The first order was *sanctissimus*, the second *sanctior*, the third *sanctus*; they were as the sun, the moon, and the stars. It seems inconceivable that these three orders should have begun and ended exactly as stated. If we accept the document as on the whole historical, we must nevertheless suppose that there must have been some considerable overlapping, though each order may very well represent the predominant character of the period to which it is assigned. The succession of the first and second orders evidently marks a transition from the missionary church of St. Patrick[2] to the monastic church of the sixth century, while the third order represents an increase in the number of hermits or solitaries of various schools. It will be with the second order, to which St. Columba belonged, that we shall now be especially concerned.

[1] Some perhaps used the mass of the first order, others this imported one; hence 'different masses.' So also in the third order. Warren remarks that the admixture of passages from the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites with the Roman Canon in the Stowe Missal (ninth century) is suggestive of a period when these diversities had not ceased to exist. *Celtic Liturgy*, 204.

[2] On the enormous preponderance of bishops in St. Patrick's system, and on the early Irish chorepiscopi, see Reeves, *Eccl. Ant. of Down and Connor*, App. A.

IV. Irish Monasticism.

§ 1. The Irish monasticism of the sixth century was the outcome of the spirit and the work of the second order of Saints. It was very different from mediaeval monasticism, and an Irish monastery of that date, and for long after, was not in the least like those monasteries of the middle ages whose ruins are still existing in most parts of Ireland, as well as elsewhere. Celtic monachism was the transition from the hermit life to that of the religious orders of the middle ages. This transition soon took place in the East. The first monks were, as the word *μοναχός* implies, solitaries. This earliest monasticism is supposed to have arisen in Egypt and Syria, whither numbers of Christians were driven by the Decian persecution in the middle of the third, and that of Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. Many of these exiles are believed to have betaken themselves to a hermit life, possibly influenced not only by Christian, but by Manichaean, Jewish, Buddhist, and even pagan ideas. They soon divided themselves into two classes. Some continued the original hermit life, which was in later times practised by the third order of Irish saints, and by the comparatively few hermits or anchorites of the middle and even later ages. Others united themselves in communities each under the rule of a 'father' or abbot [1], and lived as coenobites. Through constant communication between Alexandria and Marseilles, Egyptian monachism soon spread into Gaul, and then from Gaul into Ireland [2].

Early Monasticism.

§ 2. Such being the case, it is interesting to know, by existing remains and early accounts, that the primitive Irish monasteries were of the same type as those of Egypt and Syria, consisting of

Early buildings.

[1] From the Syriac *Abba*, i.e. father.

[2] In the obscure beginnings of monastic life in Europe, St. Martin of Tours undoubtedly plays a prominent part. (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 14.) On the influence of John Cassian and others, see Stokes, *Celt. Ch.* Lecture ix.

scattered huts or cells grouped around a church or oratory of humble character, and surrounded by a stone wall (cashel), or by an earthen rampart (rath, dun, or lis), with a ditch[1], and on the top a palisade and quick hedge for seclusive enclosure, and for defence against robbers and wild beasts. And it may probably have been safety as well as solitude that so often recommended islands to the Celtic monks as sites for monasteries.

In Ireland the cells were often wooden or wattled huts, but not uncommonly of stone, and of 'bee-hive' form, made by laying each course a little within the one below, until the top was covered in. The earliest stone buildings are dry-walled, and some were built with clay used as mortar before the use of lime became universal. The little churches or oratories were invariably oblong, without chancels; when of stone they were at first roofed on the same principle as the bee-hive cells, the construction of the arch not being understood till much later. And the descriptions of early Irish monasteries would serve for those of Egypt and Syria. There are found the same bee-hive cells, the same stone-roofed oratories, the same outer defences. In Ireland the cells in some cases have doorways so low that a man has to creep through, and inside is a set-off, forming a stone bench on which the monk could sit or lie[2]. There is, however, no reason for supposing that all the buildings in Ireland were directly copied from those in the East. It was rather that the same mode of life required similar buildings, and a similar stage in civilization developed the same methods of construction. The first Christian architecture in Ireland was certainly in some respects, and probably in most, a continua-

[1] Water still remains in some of these. Joyce, *Geography of the Counties of Ireland*, 1883, p. 31.

[2] See on this subject Warren, ch. ii. § 1, and Lecture ix, 'Ireland and the East,' in Prof. Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, and the end of Lect. xi. For illustrations and ground-plans, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Margaret Stokes, 1887, part ii, ch. ii, and reff. p. 82; Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lecture iii; Lord Dunraven, *Irish Architecture*.

tion of the pagan work. When the local kings or chieftains became Christian, their raths or cashels, or new ones built in imitation of them, protected the earliest oratories and bee-hive cells, which latter were simply the old pagan dwellings, now serving as monastic cells adapted to that stage in the monastic idea which had then been reached. But, as Dr. Anderson says, 'there is no pagan structure which, in Scotland or in Ireland, assumes either the form or character of a Christian church, however early or however rude[1].' Whence then came the idea of the little oblong church or oratory? Most probably from the East, where, as we have seen, similar churches existed[2]. With respect to burial-grounds, the pagan practice was to enclose them within a stone circle, but in the primitive Irish Church the enclosure was oblong in form, like the oratory, and fenced by pillar-stones set close together, each marked with a cross. Some of the early stone buildings are in very good preservation to this day. But the largest apartments, as well as some churches, and the greater number of the cells, were no doubt constructed of much less durable materials, such as wood, wattles, and clay, and so have perished ages ago. Hence it is that not a trace of St. Columba's monastery is to be seen at Iona. There must have been rooms with plenty of light, for illuminations such as those in the *Book of Kells* or the *Book of Durrow* could not have been executed in places in the least like bee-hive cells[3]. The great hall at Tara, where national assemblies were held, appears from existing indications to have measured 759 feet by 90, and, according to Petrie, must have been constructed of wood and clay. And there is no reason why there may not have been similar buildings connected with the monasteries, of any size that might be required. Many of the churches, indeed, appear to have been of this kind, especially in the east and north-east of Ireland, where stone was less plentiful. But

[1] *Scotland*, &c. 79, 80.

[2] See Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, 1874, ii. 915, 925.

[3] Possibly, however, out of doors.

they were always small, 20 to 40 feet in length, rarely 60 (oratories about 10½ feet), never having aisles or apse, or anything approaching the basilica form, nor has any round church been found, nor indeed anything of Roman type. The churches, however, often had a 'side-house' or sacristy (Erdamh, exedra, or exedriola), as in many existing buildings[1]. We find mention also of the kitchen, and of the 'great-house' or refectory. At Armagh, according to the *Tripartite Life*, the kitchen was 17 feet long, and the great-house was 27. There was also a guest-house for strangers, and there were storehouses, drying-kilns, and mills, as well as workshops, and perhaps rooms solely for writing and study. The famous 'Round Towers' are invariably connected with ecclesiastical foundations, and mostly belong to the ninth and tenth centuries; some may be earlier, and others may be the successors of earlier ones. It is supposed that there may be a reference to one in Adamnan, iii. 15, which is founded on Cummian, x. See note p. 144. They were used as bell-towers, and as places of temporary refuge during attacks upon monasteries, probably also as beacons and lighthouses. (See Dr. Petrie on *Round Towers*, and Miss Stokes's *Christian Art*, Part ii. 48.)

Discipline.

§ 3. With regard to discipline, each monastery, with its dependent houses, appears to have had a rule of its own. These rules had a general resemblance in the most important points. The Abbot was the head of each monastic family, including the daughter-houses, which were governed by local heads under the abbot. Sometimes the abbot was a bishop, but usually a priest, with one or more bishops subject to him as members of the community, but performing episcopal functions, and treated with honour and deference, as bishops. Even abbesses had such episcopal chaplains subject to their authority. The system was one of monastic territorial jurisdiction rather than one of diocesan

[1] The Great Gospel of Columcille, known as the *Book of Kells*, was stolen out of the Erdamh at Kells in 1005. *Chron. Scotorum*, 245.

episcopacy, though episcopacy was always held to be essential to the very being of a church. Poverty, celibacy, and obedience were all essential to the monastic life. There were married *secular* clergy, as for example St. Patrick's father and grandfather, and, when St. Patrick wanted a bishop for the men of Leinster, he asked for 'a man of one wife.' Such marriages were perhaps regarded by later monastic writers as no marriages at all, and clerks' wives may be referred to as 'mulieres,' or even 'meretrices.' Nevertheless, such marriages went on in Ireland until the fifteenth century, the Roman canon law notwithstanding. The Brehon laws assume the existence of married as well as of unmarried clergy. Some writers have been driven to great straits in order to conceal these and kindred facts. (Olden, 121, 289; Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, 13, 14.)

Hospitality.

§ 4. Hospitality was shown to strangers, in honour of whom the regular fasts were relaxed, according to the means at the command of the house, but the usual fare of the 'family' was very plain and simple.

Dress.

§ 5. The ordinary dress was a coarse woollen wrapper or cowl, probably with a cord or strap round the loins, over a tunic or under-garment. The old Irish *casail*, often rendered *casula*, and 'chasuble,' was the ordinary outer garment worn not only by ecclesiastics, but by Druids and women. It is supposed to be referred to in the famous old Irish rime about St. Patrick[1] in the words rendered by Muirchu 'et sua *domu* capite perforato,' *domus* being regarded as equivalent to *casa*, of which *casula* is the diminutive. The monk slept in his clothes on a straw mat or something of the kind in his cell, and with probably a rug or skin over him.

Tonsure.

§ 6. The tonsure was made by shaving off all the hair in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, and is called the frontal, 'St. John's,' or Celtic tonsure, to distinguish it from the coronal, 'St. Peter's,' or Roman, and the

[1] Printed in Stokes's *Tripartite*, 274; Todd's *St. Patrick*, 411.

total, 'St. Paul's,' or Greek tonsure. The Roman party nicknamed it Simon Magus's tonsure, probably with reference to some tonsure which the *magi* or Irish Druids had[1]. There was also a slaves' tonsure, which is said in the *Tripartite* to have been exchanged by St. Patrick for that of a monk. (Stokes, 25.) It would seem that in 1300 the Irish generally 'half-shaved their heads.'—*Cambrensis Eversus*, i. 194 n.

Church Services.

§ 7. The life of St. Columba contains many references to the days and hours of Divine Service, and we need hardly doubt that the Columban usages were much the same as what had long prevailed in Irish monasteries. The solemn days were Sundays and Saints' days (*natales*), and were observed with celebration of the Eucharist (which does not appear to have taken place daily) in addition to the Offices for the Hours sung on all days, rest from labour[2], and an allowance of better food. All the usual Hours appear to have been observed at Iona, except that there is no mention of Compline, which was evolved from the informal prayers at bedtime in the sixth century, and seems not to have been adopted by the Celtic Church until a later period, if at all. The terms for Vespers (including Lauds) were *Vespertinalis missa*[3], and *Vespertinales laudes*. The Holy Eucharist was called *sacra Eucharistiae ministeria*, *sacra mysteria*, *sacrae oblationis mysteria* or *obsequia*. Wine, water, and bread were provided, and the priest stood *ante altare*. The terms for consecration were *sacra Eucharistiae consecrare* (vel *con-*

[1] See Todd, 455 n., 456; Stokes, *Trip.* 509 n. The term applied to a Christian missionary in ancient Irish writings is *tailcend*. This is said by Dr. Reeves (1857) to be rendered in the *Book of Armagh*, fo. 2 v. by *Asciciput*, 'Adzehead,' and it is so rendered in Dr. Whitley Stokes's ed. of the *Tripartite* (1887), p. 35. But Dr. Todd (1864) says (411 n.) that the word is *Lasciciput*, which he connects with *lascivium* (*lixivium*) barber's soap. The reading *Asciciput* is confirmed in *Anal. Boll.* i. 556. In the MS. the *l* is put in the margin, as if the scribe had been uncertain which was the right word.

[2] Sunday was so observed, according to Muirchu and the *Tripartite*, by St. Patrick (ed. Stokes, 147, 193, 289; *Anal. Boll.* i. 571); see also *Cal. Oengus*, ed. Stokes, lxiv, cxlvii; Bede, *Vit. S. Cuthb.* cap. 27; Olden, p. 114.

[3] See notes on *missarum*, iii. 11, p. 141, and *vespertinalem missam*, iii. 23, p. 158.

ficere) *mysteria, sacram oblationem consecrare, Christi corpus conficere.* Concelebration might be practised by two (or more ?) priests, but a bishop celebrated alone. The brethren communicated. On extraordinary occasions, even in the dead of night, as well, probably, as for the ordinary church services and for meals, the abbot or bishop called the brethren together by the sound of a hand-bell, which seems to have been in his own possession for life, and to have passed on to his successor.

§ 8. These bells were of the rudest construction, and all which have been preserved have a strong family likeness. That of St. Patrick [1] is the oldest and most authentic relic of metal work of the Christian period that has come down to us; it has an unbroken history of 1,400 years. It is formed of two plates of sheet iron bent over and riveted together in a quadrilateral form with rounded angles, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ diameter at the base, and a little less at the top. After being riveted, it has been dipped into melted bronze, which has both coated it and run into the joints. The handle is an iron loop let into holes on the top of the bell, and further secured outside by bronze attachments. It is, indeed, made in the same way as bells for camels, cattle, and sheep still are, and have been from the earliest times. The ordinary representation of St. Antony with a bell in his hand has perhaps originated in some conception of him as the head of a monastic house, bearing the bell as a recognized symbol of monastic rule. And possibly the use of hand-bells may have come into Ireland from the East. Whether they had been used in pagan Ireland appears to be uncertain. Ecclesiastical bells.

§ 9. In course of time the bell of any famous saint came to be regarded as a most sacred relic, and, rude as it was itself both in material and in workmanship, it was enclosed in a shrine, made in its own form, and covered with the most elaborate patterns in metal-work, Bell-shrines.

[1] In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

resplendent with gold and precious stones, and having rings at the sides for suspension round the neck. These magnificent shrines, however, formed no part of the equipment of an Irish monastery of the time with which we are concerned; they are supposed to have been made about 400 or 500 years after the deaths of the saints whose bells they enclose. They were preserved from generation to generation in the families that represented the original founders of the monasteries; hence the survival of so many, between fifty and sixty in Ireland alone[1].

Books and their shrines.

§ 10. Sacred books, as missals and Gospels, and crosiers, were regarded with like veneration, and in course of time enshrined and preserved by hereditary custodians in the same way as the bells. The most venerable of these are the *Domhnach Airgid*, a Latin MS. of the Gospels which may have belonged to St. Patrick, and the famous *Cathach* or Battle-book, a Psalter possibly in St. Columba's handwriting[2]. Many of these shrines or outer cases are described in Miss Stokes's admirable South Kensington Handbook, referred to p. xxxviii n.

To return now to the usages of Iona, as illustrating those of the still earlier Irish Church.

Easter and the Paschal controversy.

§ 11. The chief festival was Easter, and the *Paschales dies*, from Easter Day to Whitsunday, were marked by greater indulgence than other times. Sunday of course was kept as 'an Easter Day in every week,' and as a day of rest from work and travelling (Olden, 114, 115), as, e. g., by St. Cuthbert (Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xxvii; *Metrical Life*, 2870–77). And in the *Tripartite* (*c.* A. D. 1000) we find St. Patrick rebuking the heathen for digging a rath on a Sunday (Stokes, 233). In the story of the expedition

[1] For accounts and illustrations of Celtic bells and shrines, see Miss Stokes, 1887, ch. iv; pt. i, Anderson, Lecture v; Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, ch. vii; Warren, *Celtic Liturgy*, 92, and authorities cited. Giraldus appears to have been much interested in Celtic bells and crosiers; *Topog. Hib.* Distinctio iii. 33, 34.

[2] See O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Lect. xv, and below, vi. § 6. More recent opinion is less favourable to the genuineness of both these MSS.

of the sons of Ua Corra they are represented as finding a man on an island digging with a fiery spade as a punishment for digging on Sundays when on earth, and on another island a man riding a horse of fire, he having taken his brother's horse and ridden it on a Sunday (O'Curry, *MS. Mater.* 293). As to the time of keeping Easter, there had been and still were great differences in the Church, as there is still between the East and the West[1]. The churches of Asia long kept Easter Day on the same day as the Jews' Passover, viz. the fourteenth day of Nisan or Abib, which month began with the new moon next to the vernal equinox, so that the fourteenth day was the day of the Paschal full moon; hence those who kept Easter on this day, which might be any day of the week, were called 'Quartodecimans.' The Western churches kept Easter Day on the Sunday following, and this rule was confirmed by the Council of Nicaea. But the time of the year in which the vernal equinox fell was a matter of astronomical calculation, and depended on what 'cycle' was adopted. During the fourth, and first half of the fifth, century the Alexandrian church used a nineteen-year cycle, while the Roman used the old Jewish eighty-four-year cycle. But in 463 Rome adopted a new cycle of 532 years. Now the Irish church had received with St. Patrick and its first teachers, not the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, which might conceivably have come to them through Marseilles and Gaul, but the old Roman and Jewish eighty-four-year cycle, which had prevailed all over Europe; indeed so little had the Irish clergy to do with Rome during the earlier centuries of its life, that they knew nothing of the new Roman cycle and consequent alteration in the time of Easter, and, when attempts were made to bring in this Roman Easter

[1] The present difference however is, that in Russia and Greece and throughout the East the rectification of the Calendar made by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, is still rejected, and the 'Old Style' tenaciously adhered to, as was the case in the British dominions until Jan. 1, 1752.

and the Roman tonsure, they resisted with a vehemence altogether inconsistent with the alleged saying of St. Patrick, to the effect that the Irish should sing *kyrie eleeson* that they might be indeed Roman[1], or with any such dependence on Rome as might have been inferred had St. Patrick really sought consecration and mission from the Pope. As a matter of fact, the Roman Easter and tonsure were not accepted by the Celtic church until A. D. 716[2].

Holy Days and rites.

§ 12. The only other great festival mentioned by Adamnan is the *Natalitium Domini*, or Christmas. Wednesdays and Fridays, except during the *Paschales dies*, were fast-days, and Lent was strictly kept as a preparation for Easter, while some kept the forty days before Christmas in a similar way. We find baptism administered to children, and to an old man at the point of death, as well as to adult converts. Holy orders were conferred by a bishop only. It is not certain whether one bishop consecrating another usually had, as later, at least two others with him as co-consecrators. Lanfranc and Anselm both complained that consecration by single bishops was practised in Ireland, and there are two or three known instances of it. Bishops and abbots had crosiers; see pp. xxxiii, xliv. Confession was made *coram omnibus*, and the abbot enjoined penance and gave absolution. But there was also a system of personal direction, and the director was called one's *anmchara*, *animae carus*, or soul-friend. The saying 'a man without a soul-friend is a body without a head' may belong, however, to the mediaeval period, though attributed in legend to the time of St. Bridget. (See Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, xlvi, cxxix.) The sign of the cross for the averting of evil or enduing with virtue was in constant use, and in St. Columba's time objects which he had blessed were regarded and used as charms. The Burial of the Dead was a religious office

[1] See above, p. xxxi.

[2] How entirely independent of one another and indeed mutually antagonistic on these points the Celtic and Roman churches were is fully shown in the Introduction to Warren's *Celtic Liturgy*, § 4, pp. 29–46.

following upon the *exequiae*, which commonly lasted till the third day after death; hence saints' days are often on the third day after their death, the *depositio* or burial being in these cases commemorated rather than the *natalis* or birth-day to the future life.

§ 13. The employments of the communities, apart from the church services and private devotion, were reading, writing, and labour. Holy Scripture was a principal subject of study; the Psalms were commonly learnt by heart. Latin was still a living language in the monasteries; Greek and even Hebrew received some attention. Lives of the saints were both written and read, and perhaps some of the Latin Fathers were studied as time went on. Adamnan, like other Celtic writers, was much given to the use of Greek words turned into Latin forms either by himself or others, and sometimes quoted Greek words, and put Latin words into Greek letters. And, in the last page of Codex A of his Life of St. Columba, is the Lord's Prayer in the semi-uncial Greek characters adopted by the Irish scribes[1], and exhibiting their usual confusion between ε and η, with other clerical errors which show that the scribe did not always understand the words, but that Greek was felt to be at least a matter of interest and curiosity[2]. Writing formed a large part of the occupation of monks and scholars, some of whom probably worked at little else. We find mention of waxed tablets[3], styles, skins, and inkhorns[4]. Most of the books

Employments.

[1] A good deal of this writing is found in the *Book of Armagh*. See Warren, note on p. 157; Reeves, 1857, p. xxi; below, p. 1, n.

[2] On the whole subject of Greek in Gaul and western Europe down to 700, and the knowledge of Greek in Ireland between 500 and 900, see Dr. G. T. Stokes, in *Proc. R. I. A.* third ser., vol. ii. pp. 177-202.

[3] 'Cuius mihi formam in tabula cerata ipse depinxit.' *De Loc. Sanctis*, i. 2. 'Mihi Adamnano . . . primo in tabulas describenti, . . . dictavit quae nunc in membranis brevi textu scribuntur.' *Ib. Prolog.* On pre-Christian Irish tablets, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 465, 470, and on waxen and other tablets, Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 1893, p. 18.

[4] Reeves (on i. 25) refers to Keller, *Bilder*, &c., p. 92, pl. vii (Zürich, 1851).

used in the churches, as ordinary missals, psalters, lectionaries, hymn-books; or for study, as the Scriptures, Fathers, Saints' lives, chronicles, &c., would be but little ornamented. Among the 'school-books' in use were educational poems forming class-books to be learnt by heart, and commented on or explained by the teachers[1]. The art of illumination doubtless grew by degrees, but such magnificent specimens as the *Book of Kells* and the *Book of Durrow*, both of which have been attributed to St. Columba himself, are now considered to be of the seventh century, not of the sixth. The colophon of the *Book of Durrow* refers to the writer, Columba, but Columba was a very common name, and the colophon, moreover, appears to be copied from some other earlier one, and to contain, as do other parts of the MS., errors which St. Columba would hardly have committed[2]. But whoever the scribe and illuminator may have been, they have produced one of the finest extant works of its kind. Except at the beginning of each Gospel, the only attempts at ornament are the red dots round the capital letters, and the filling in of blank portions of lines with a sort of chain ornament. But the first letter in each Gospel is a fine specimen of Celtic illumination, and before each Gospel is an Evangelistic symbol, and a page occupied by interlaced and other Celtic patterns. The 'Man' of St. Matthew has been described as an 'ecclesiastic' with the Irish tonsure. The hair is parted in the middle, and the front part of the head certainly has some appearance of being shaven. The text is 'a tolerably pure Vulgate.' Much finer still is the *Book of Kells*, the text of which is the Vulgate modified by additions, &c., from the Old Latin. It is impossible to give any idea of the splendour and elaboration of its ornamental pages and letters, or of the extreme minuteness of the work, which often requires a lens to trace it, 'yet these minute lines are as firm as if drawn by a machine, and as free as if they

[1] Joyce, *Hist.* 160.

[2] See p. 165, note 5.

were the growth of nature.' 'But,' as Mr. Madan observes, 'the limitations of excellence are also obvious. When the human figure or historical scenes are attempted, the effect is poor and often barbarous, and even trees and flowers were avoided by Irish artists; so that our judgement on the Irish school must be that it exhibits, not the highest form of art, but the highest development of that particular grade of art in which regularity and minuteness hold a more important place than free drawing from nature.' Oriental and mediaeval MSS. depend largely on the free use of gold for the glory of their illuminations, but in this and other Celtic works no gold is employed, and the characteristic polychrome is obtained solely by the use of pigments which produced richness rather than brilliancy of effect[1]. Books, being so highly prized, as well they might be, were kept in satchels of embossed leather (*polairi*) into which they would just fit; these had long straps by which they could be hung upon walls, or round the neck, under one arm. Such are the satchels of the *Book of Armagh* (made for a larger book), of the Corpus missal at Oxford, and of St. Moedoc's reliquary. Curzon found the books in the library of an Abyssinian monastery kept exactly in the same way[2], and the Corpus satchel is very like an Ethiopic one at St. John's College. The Irish had also larger satchels (*tiagha*) to hold a number of books[3]. The principal manual labours of the Irish monks (beside writing, &c.) were the various branches of agriculture, including cow-keeping, and the preparation of food. Adamnan gives us many details concerning the constitution

[1] On the *Books of Kells* and *Durrow* and on others of the same class, see Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Lecture iv; Miss Stokes's *Handbook*, cc. ii, iii (list of reff. p. 52); *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 159–166; Madan, *MS. Books*. ch. v, and below, vi. § 5. The oft-quoted description by Giraldus Cambrensis of the Kildare Gospels, now lost, might have been written for the *Book of Kells*, and in its way it cannot be surpassed. (*Topog. Hib.* ii. 38.)

[2] *Monasteries of the Levant*, 93.

[3] See Reeves's notes, ed. 1857, pp. 115, 116; Miss Stokes's *Handbook*, p 50; *Archaeologia*, xliii. 136; Bp. Wordsworth, *Old Latin Texts*, ii. p. xiv; Petrie, *R. T.* 336–340.

of the monastery at Iona, its officers, the household, the discipline, the religious offices and holy days, the ordinary occupations of the brethren, their buildings, and their jurisdiction [1].

V. Monastic Schools.

Probable origin of scholastic discipline in Ireland.

§ 1. We must now go back to the latter end of the fifth century, and give a short account of those great monastic schools in Ireland, with more than one of which St. Columba was connected as a learner if not as a teacher. It is probable that the men of the Second Order derived their monastic discipline, as we have seen that they derived a Liturgy, not from St. Patrick and the Saints of the First Order, but from those great Welsh schools which were springing up during the years of the missionary work of St. Patrick's later disciples.

Aran.

§ 2. The earliest of the Irish schools, and the one regarded as the 'Nursery' of the Saints of the Second Order, was that founded by St. Enda at Aran, the greatest of three islands off Galway bay. Passing by the legendary account of the earlier life of St. Enda, which tells of his crossing from another island in a stone boat[2], it does appear that he founded his first monastery at Killeany (church of Enda or Enna), and that men were attracted to it from all parts. Among these were the famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, said to have made a seven years' voyage in search of the Fortunate Isles, St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, St. Finnian of Moville, and St. Columba himself; indeed there were hardly any of the great saints of the Second Order who did not spend some time in Aran with St. Enda. The saint was of noble and royal descent, and, before his conversion,

[1] See Dr. Reeves's most complete collection of reff. on all points connected with the life in Iona; ed. 1857, pp. 339–369; ed. 1874, pp. civ–cxxvii.

[2] A stone in size and form resembling a *curroc* bottom upwards is still shown by the side of the little harbour, but some of the islanders now say it was 'St. Columcille' who came in it.

the head of the tribe of the Oriels, in Ulster. When he came to Aran, he was at first opposed by the pagan chief, who however soon withdrew in his favour. The islands are still full of most interesting ruins of pagan forts and Christian churches[1]; the former, with their bee-hive cells, &c. were no doubt made use of by the Christian settlers. As so many came to Aran for a while and then left it in order to set up monasteries of their own, it was by no means a monastery pure and simple as the term is now commonly understood, but rather, like those which succeeded it, a monastery undertaking a great educational work.

§ 3. The School of St. Finnian at Clonard became the most famous of all the great schools of the sixth century. Its founder was known as the Tutor of Erin's Saints, and twelve of his disciples were called the twelve apostles of Ireland, the monastic schools which they founded becoming the greatest centres of 'sound learning and religious instruction' in Ireland. Finnian had been under the training of St. David and other Welsh saints, and seems to have founded his school at Clonard about 520. He is said to have had no less than 100 bishops and 3000 students in his college or monastery, though not all, we may presume, at the same time. Bishop Healy, however, thinks that there were as many as 3000[2] at a time[3], and that the instruction was generally given in the open air, the pupils being so seated on the grassy slopes that thousands could hear at a time. They built their own huts, he says, and lived like an encampment of soldiers, sowed and ground their own corn, fished in the rivers, and had milk in abundance from the cows that grazed in the monastic pastures. At

Clonard.

[1] See the first eight plates and plates xxxvi–xlv, with the descriptions, in Lord Dunraven's magnificent work entitled *Notes on Irish Architecture*, 2 vols., large 4to, 1875 and 1877, and Miss Stokes's *Early Chr. Archit.* cc. i, ii.

[2] This was a favourite traditionary figure (Montalembert, iii. 93, 94), and it would be safer to say, in the words of Ussher (*Works* vi. 586), that from Clonard 'tanquam ex equo Trojano innumeri doctrina et pietate praestantes viri prodierunt.'

[3] *Insula Sanctorum*, 201.

Clonard it was the custom that each one of twelve, apparently those mentioned above, should in turn procure the daily food of the rest wherever he could, by labour or buying or begging[1]. St. Finnian of Clonard, surnamed 'the Wise,' died Dec. 12, about 550, and was buried at Clonard, where there are now no remains of any very ancient buildings.

Clonfert.

§ 4. The school of Clonfert, connected with the see and monastery of that name, was founded by St. Brendan 'the Navigator,' pupil of St. Enda and of St. Finnian of Clonard. He was born about 484, and, after a very eventful life, founded Clonfert in 556 or 557; his great fame both as a saint and as a traveller attracted many students, and for many centuries Clonfert was the most frequented and most famous school in the west of Ireland. St. Brendan ruled the house for twenty years, during which time his passion for travel never altogether deserted him. He occasionally left Clonfert to visit other monasteries, and in Adamnan, iii. 17, we find him, in company with three other founders of monasteries, visiting St. Columba on Hinba island, near Iona. He died in 577 in his 94th year, and was buried at Clonfert. His day is May 16[2].

Moville.

§ 5. The School of Moville, or Maghbile, at the head of Strangford Lough in co. Down, was founded by another St. Finnian, who is not to be confounded with St. Finnian of Clonard by the southern border of Meath. Moville is about five miles south of the Irish Bangor, a school which of all others in Ireland acquired a European reputation. The story of Finnian (or Finbar)

[1] See the Life of St. Columba of Tir-da-glas in *Acta SS Hib. ex Cod. Salmant.* sect. 5, col. 446; *Tr. Th* 457.

[2] The very unusual dedication of Brancepeth Church, near Durham, to St. Brendan of Clonfert, has probably been suggested by the name of 'Brandon hill,' a conspicuous elevation in the immediate neighbourhood. For, according to the legend, St. Brendan built an oratory on Brandon Hill on the west coast of Ireland, and there conceived the idea of finding a land of promise beyond the Atlantic. Possibly, however, the name 'Brandon hill' may have been suggested by the dedication of the church at Brancepeth. Dr. Joyce says that two Brandon hills in Ireland are named from this Saint. *Names*, i. 149.

of Moville is that he was a scion of a noble family settled by Strangford Lough, anciently called Lough Cuan, and that he had made great progress in wisdom and piety, when a bishop called Nennio, with certain disciples, came over from the famous house of Candida Casa in Galloway, to visit the monastery and school of Noendrum, an island in the Lough, now called Island Mahee. Candida Casa was founded about 397 by St. Ninian, who had been educated in Rome and at Tours, whence probably arose much of the fame of his monastery. The young Finnian begged to return with the visitors, and remained some time at Candida Casa. Thence he went to Rome for seven years, as is said, and on his return to Ireland founded Moville about 540. Thus the two Finnians represented Welsh and North British traditions respectively, and one of them represented those of Rome as well. The school of St. Finnian of Moville long flourished under himself and his successors, who for about 200 years appear to have been bishops; its fame however was in course of time eclipsed by that of the Irish Bangor. St. Finnian's penitential code is extant, but his rule is not. Adamnan (ii. 1) relates a miracle which happened while St. Columba was studying with Findbarr or Vinnian a bishop in Scotia (Ireland); this and the post-Adamnanic legend of Columba's furtive copy from St. Finnian's psalter, which will be referred to more particularly below, both relate to Finnian of Moville, who is said to have brought over with him from Rome an entire copy of the Vulgate. He died in 589 at a great age, and was buried at Moville. Colgan and others (e.g. Miss Stokes in her interesting work *Six Months in the Apennines*, Lond. 1892), have identified him with Frigidianus or Fridian bp. of Lucca, who may have been an Irishman, but Lanigan, Todd, and Reeves all consider the two names to belong to totally different persons, whose histories are mixed up in mediaeval legend (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* under FRIDIAN). Fridian is said to have died and been buried at Lucca, Finnian at Moville. (Healy, p. 249.)

§ 6. The School of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was founded in 544 or 548 by Ciaran Mac In Tsair, i.e. 'the Carpenter's son,' the 'beloved disciple' of Ireland. He was baptized in 512, the probable year of his birth, by a deacon named Justus, and was educated first at Clonard, and then at Aran. St. Enda sent him to found a church on the banks of the Shannon, and he founded one at Isell Ciaran and then another on Inis Ainghin, now Hare Island, in Lough Ree. He did not remain long at either place, but journeyed south and settled at Clonmacnoise, on the left bank of the Shannon, with eight companions, on Saturday Jan. 23, 544 or 548? When Ciaran was planting the first post he was helped by Diarmaid the king's son, and in one of the panels of the great cross at Clonmacnoise (A.D. 916) the clean-shaven monk in his long robe and the bearded prince in short tunic are clearly shown in the act of setting up the post, or a tall wooden cross. Diarmaid became a great benefactor to Clonmacnoise, though he appears to have still kept Druids or soothsayers about him. Ciaran lived only four months after this. He was attended in his last hours by St. Kevin of Glendalough, his 'soul-friend,' whom he had known at Clonard, and to whom he now gave his bell as a parting gift. Having been sprinkled with holy water and having received the holy *viaticum* at the hands of St. Kevin, he passed away in peace, 'at the sacred age of thirty-three,' Sept. 9, or 5? 544 or 549? But, although Ciaran did not live to rule the house, he was held in most loving remembrance, and to this day crowds of pilgrims meet at Clonmacnoise on the 9th of September. His personal relics, such as the cow-skin on which he died, were believed to work miracles of healing, and it was thought that Ciaran's prayers would save the souls of all who were buried in his holy ground. Hence it became a famous place of sepulture, and in Dr. Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*[1] are no less than 179 inscriptions from Clonmacnoise alone

Clonmacnoise.

[1] Dublin, 1872 and 1878, 2 vols., 4to.

all very short and simple, and nearly all with incised crosses[1]. The great sculptured standing cross was set up for King Fland (ob. 916), by the Abbot Colman (ob. 924), as its inscription shows.

As a monastic school, Clonmacnoise became most of all in Ireland a national rather than a tribal institution. St. Ciaran himself was half northern and half southern, and his successors were chosen from all parts and without any reference to their family connexions. St. Columba visited Clonmacnoise in 585, as we shall see. To one Colchu, *lectorem in Scotia*, usually identified with a head teacher at Clonmacnoise *c.* 794, the famous Alcuin (Albinus), who had been his pupil, addressed a letter implying the highest respect and deference. He sends alms from King Charles (Charlemagne) and a quantity of (olive) oil, then very scarce in Ireland, to be distributed among the bishops for sacramental purposes[2].

Conclusion.

§ 7. And now that we have passed over in brief review the main points that are known or fairly probable with regard to the great monastic schools of the sixth century[3], we shall be better prepared to consider the life of St. Columba in the same way, and shall better understand the nature of his preparation for the great work of his life, namely, the carrying into northern Britain of that Irish Christianity which had itself been derived, in a great measure at any rate, from Britain. St. Patrick himself, as we have seen, was of British extraction, and the Saints of the

[1] The ordinary formula is simply *Oroit do N.* 'Pray for N.' The stones are now collected together in one of the churches.

[2] See Ussher's *Works*, iv. 466; Alcuini *Opp.*, Ratisb. 1777, i. 6; *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ed. Jaffe, pp. 166, 171.

[3] On schools of the fifth century, on schools founded by St. Columba in Ireland, viz. Derry, Durrow, and Kells, on Iona, and on the many later schools in Ireland, see Healy's *Insula Sanctorum*. Among these that of Bangor became especially famous. This Bangor on Belfast Lough is to be distinguished from Bangor in co. Mayo, from Bangor on the Dee, and from Bangor in Carnarvonshire. Its monastery was founded in the sixth century by St. Comgall, the friend of St. Columba, and from it came the famous 'Antiphonary' of Bangor. Beside the monastic schools, there were some carried on at the public expense, and some kept by private individuals, on which see Joyce, *Hist.* part ii. ch. v. p. 155.

Second Order probably derived much more than their Liturgy from Wales. The one St. Finnian was a pupil of St. David, the other had studied with the successors of St. Ninian. The southern Picts, as Bede tells us (*E. H.* iii. 4), had, long before the coming of Columba to Iona, forsaken idolatry, and embraced the truth through the preaching of St. Ninian, but it was reserved for Columba to evangelize the Northern Picts, and this he did, receiving of them the island of Iona, that he might found therein a monastery, which should be a great centre for missionary work.

VI. Columba in Ireland.

Birth and childhood.

§ 1. It was not within the scope of the Latin 'Lives' (so called) to say where or when St. Columba was born[1], but the oldest Irish Life[2] says at Gartan (little field) on Thursday the day of St. Buite's decease (Dec. 7). The chronology is confused as to the year, but 521 may be the most likely date[3]. Gartan is a village by a small lake among the hills of Donegal, and the local traditions of St. Columba's birth there are still very strong. He belonged to the clan O'Donnell, which is now represented by Charles J. O'Donel, Esq., and was of royal lineage

[1] Strange stories still enter into the folklore of the peasantry. On Aug. 4, 1893, the editor was told the following by the widow Keelan, aged 74, at Tara: 'St. Columcille never had a father. The way it was was this: St. Bridget was walkin' wid St. Paathrick an' a ball fell from heavin, an' it was that swate she et it all up, an' it made her prignant with Columcille, an' that's what a praste towld me, an' it's thrue. St. Bridget, an' St. Paathrick, an' St. Columcille, all lays in one grave in Downpaathrick, so you can put that down.' (Cp. Reeves, 1857, lxxx.) Miraculous conceptions of a similar kind are not uncommon in mediaeval Irish hagiology. See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, pp. lxi, lxxii, lxxxix, clvi, clxxi.

[2] This is the primary authority for most things relating to the life of St. Columba that are not recorded by Adamnan. Concerning it see above, *Preface*, p. x.

[3] The whole matter has been most fully gone into by Reeves (ed. 1857), lxix, (1874) 225, and now again quite recently by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, who assigns St. Columba's birth to 504, his migration to 546, and his death to 580. *Obit of St. Columba*, 1893, p. 7.

on both sides, his father, Fedhlimidh (Phelim), being great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages[1], 'Over-king' in Ireland 379–405[2], and his mother, Eithne, being also descended from a king of Ireland. Thus the nobility of two races met in the child, and afterwards contributed greatly to the influence which he exercised. He was christened by the presbyter Cruithnechan, and named Colum (dove)[3]; Irish writers say he had also the name Crimthann (fox). Afterwards he was commonly called Colum-cille 'a cella et Columba' (Bede, *H. E.* v. 9) or, according to the pretty explanation in the *Leabhar Breac*, 'because of the frequency of his coming from the cell in which he read his psalms, to meet the neighbouring children. And what they used to say among themselves was: Has our little Colum come to-day from the cell? i. e. from Tulach-Dubhglaise (Temple Douglas) in Tir-Lughdech in Cinell Conaill.' This would be while he was living as the foster-child of Cruithnechan (*pueri nutritor*, iii. 2, with whom he had been placed, in accordance with the usual custom[4].

§ 2. When he was old enough to leave his foster-father, he was placed as a pupil with the bishop St. Finnian, in the great school at Moville[5]. Here he studied for some time, and was ordained deacon. Then it was that, according to Adamnan, ii. 1, he turned water into wine. From Moville he travelled southward, and studied with 'Master Gemman,' an aged bard in Leinster, probably with a view to perfect himself in the language and literature of his native land. At this time occurred the incident related

Education.

[1] 'Quod nouem regnorum deuictorum obsides acceperit. Ita etiam iv magistri . . . ad an. 379 et 405 . . . et alii innumeri.' *Tr. Th.* 447. They were confined at Tara, where the mound or fort 'of the hostages' is still visible. See further in *Cambr. Ev.* i. 495, and notes; iii. 271.

[2] See above, ii. § 2.

[3] Colum (or Colm) with the diminutive becomes Columan (Colman), and so Columb becomes Columban. With the prefix of endearment and another diminutive it is Mo-cholum-og (Mocholmog). Cp. p. lxxx n.

[4] See below, p. 130 n.

[5] See above, v. § 5, p. liii.

by Adamnan, ii. 25. Next, Columba went to the monastic school of St. Finnian of Clonard, on the Boyne[1], where, as we have seen, he became one of the 'Twelve Apostles of Erin[2].' On his arrival he asked Finnian where he should make his bothy, and Finnian told him to make it at the door of the church. And at supper time each in turn of the 'apostles' used to grind the quern, but an angel ground for Colum-cille[3]. And as from the former St. Finnian he had acquired Roman traditions through St. Ninian and Candida Casa, so now from his second teacher of the same name he acquired traditions of Wales and of Gaul.

Ordination.

§ 3. St. Finnian of Clonard appears not to have been a bishop. It has been thought that he may have wished to have Columba ordained or consecrated as a bishop to serve in his monastery. For it is said that Columba was sent to Etchen bishop of Clonfad to receive ordination, and that Etchen, intending to ordain him bishop *per saltum*, ordained him priest by mistake, whereupon Columba, as if regarding this as a leading of Providence, vowed that he would always continue in priest's orders. The whole story has a very legendary complexion, and was probably imagined in later times in order to account for Columba's remaining a presbyter, which however was the ordinary course among the eminent men or saints of the Second Order. Etchen is said to have been at the plough when Columba came to him; and Dr. Todd points out[4] that, even if we regard the story as pure fiction, which is not necessary, at any rate it shows that when it was constructed it was thought conceivable that a bishop might work in the fields, that a single bishop might consecrate another, and

[1] See above, v, § 3, p. li.

[2] Commemorated in a companion stanza to one on the Twelve Apostles of Christ, thus rendered—

Two Finnéns, two chaste Colombs,
Ciarán, Caindech, fair Comgall,
Two Brenainns, Ruadan with splendour,
Nindid, Mobii son of Natfraech.

Stokes, *Cal. of Oengus*, cxviii.

[3] Old Irish Life in Skene, *Celt. Sc.* ii. 480.

[4] *St. Patrick*, 70–87, where the matter is very fully discussed in all its bearings.

that the consecration might be *per saltum* from deacon's orders. However St. Columba was probably ordained priest either while at Clonard or while with St. Mobhi, for we next find him at another monastic school, that of St. Mobhi Clarainech at Glas Naoidhen, now Glasnevin, near Dublin. St. Mobhi is said to have been one of the 'twelve apostles,' and a fellow-student with Columba at Clonard, though perhaps considerably his senior. Here too we find 'bothies,' and here are said to have sojourned other of his companions at Clonard, viz. St. Comgall, St. Ciaran, and St. Cainnech. He was about twenty-five years of age, when Mobhi dispersed his pupils on account of the great pestilence of 543, then devastating the neighbourhood; it prevailed in many parts of Europe, and was known as the yellow plague, and recurred from time to time[1].

His return to Ulster, and first monastic foundations.

§ 4. Columba returned to Ulster, the land of his kindred, and on crossing the Bior (Moyola water) prayed that the plague might not extend beyond it, and it is said that his prayer was heard. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Columba founded Derry in 545 (546), and O'Donnell further states in his *Life*[2] that Ainmire, first cousin of Columba, offered him, in the name of his son Aedh, then ten years old, the fortified place in which he dwelt, that he might found there a monastery. This spot was on a rising ground in a bend of the Foyle, protected on the other side by a bog, and on account of its oak grove called Daire Calgaich, now Derry or Londonderry. Columba hesitated because Mobhi had not given him leave to found a monastery, but two messengers came to say that Mobhi had died of the plague[3], and that before his death he had sent the required permission, and with it his girdle as a token. So Columba accepted his cousin's gift and founded his first monastery, where his kith and kin rallied round him[4], and

[1] See ii. 46, notes, p. 125.

[2] See Preface, p. x.

[3] St. Finnian of Clonard died in the same plague in 549.

[4] According to the Old Irish Life, he sent his monks to cut wattles for a church in Derry. Skene, *C. S.* ii. 483.

for which he always retained a deep affection, as he said :

> 'The reason why I love Derry is,
> For its quietness, for its purity ;
> For 't is full of angels white,
> From one end to the other.'

We know however very little of its history in its earliest days, nor are there any existing memorials of them except 'St. Columb's Wells.' While he was at Derry he thought of going to Rome and Jerusalem, and did go to Tours, whence he brought the gospel that had been on Martin's bosom 100 years in the earth, and he left it in Derry [1].

About 553 he founded a second monastery, which became his principal Irish establishment, namely that of Durrow, in Irish *Dair-Magh*, Oak Plain, and so, like Derry, named from its oak groves. It is not far from the centre of Ireland, on the border of King's County and Westmeath. The site appears to have been obtained from Aedh, son of Brendan, prince of the territory, and Bede thus refers to the foundation : 'Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum, cognominatur [2].' Adamnan mentions several incidents of Columba's residence at Durrow, and if the famous *Book of Durrow* had been really the work of St. Columba it would probably have been executed at this time [3]. There are now no memorials of Columba at Durrow but a well ; the fine sculptured cross is doubtless of much later date.

§ 5. During the fifteen years between 546 and 562, Columba founded other monasteries, the dates of which cannot be fixed [4]. The most famous of these was that of Kells, but it does not seem to have risen

Other monasteries.

[1] Old Irish Life in Skene, *C. S.* ii. 483.

[2] *H. E.* iii. 4.

[3] See above, iv. § 13, p. xlviii.

[4] Reeves gives lists of churches which may with more or less reason be attributed to Columba : ed. 1857, 276–285, and 289–298, 1874, xlix–lxxi. It is now said that there are traces of fifty-five dedications to St. Columba in Scotland, and forty-one in Ireland.

to great eminence during Columba's life, though after the decline of Iona in the ninth century it became the chief monastery of the Columban order. Kells, formerly Kenlis (Head Fort), anciently Cenannus is situated in the north-west portion of the county of Meath, and, according to a traditional story, was made over to Columba by King Diarmait as an atonement for an insult he had received from some 'soldiers of the royal guard,' or whatever the king's retainers may have been. The so-called 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, and 'St. Kevin's Kitchen' at Glendalough, a very similar building altered to form the nave of a church, were supposed by Dr. Petrie to be of this period. Both these, however, as well as the sculptured crosses and round tower, are now believed to be of much later date, and there are no traces of the great church from the sacristy of which the *Book of Kells* or *Great Gospel of Columcille* was stolen in 1006. This famous codex is a larger book than the *Book of Durrow*, which may have been regarded as the *Smaller Gospel of Columcille*. But, if the *Book of Kells* was originally called the *Gospel of Columcille* only as belonging to one of his churches, it nevertheless remains as a splendid example, and indeed the chief existing monument, of Irish skill and taste in the art of illumination.

§ 6. We now come to consider the causes of St. Columba's departure from Ireland, and here we find ourselves in a maze of more or less probable legend. A great battle was fought in 561 at Cooldrevny or Culdreimhne, now Cooladrummon, a ridge about six miles north of Sligo, near the Connaught and Ulster boundary. According to the Irish accounts[1] the contending parties were, on the one side, Diarmait King of Ireland, who had granted Kells to Columba, but afterwards grievously offended him, and, on the other, Columba's kinsmen the Clan Neill, mustered by Columba himself.

Supposed reasons for departure from Ireland.

[1] See particularly O'Donnell, in Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 408 ff., and the English abstract in O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 328.

Accounts differ as to which side was taken by the men of Connaught. Columba had two principal grievances, namely, that Diarmait had (1) put to death his clansman the young prince Curnan, who had fled to him for protection after causing the death of a playfellow during the sports at Tara; (2) unjustly decided against him when appealed to about the ownership of a codex which he had at some time or other secretly transcribed from one belonging to St. Finnian (of Moville apparently). Finnian claimed the son-book or copy as having been made without his leave from a book which he had brought from Rome, Columba claimed the copy as being his own handiwork. Diarmait decided that to every book belongs its son-book as to every cow her calf. These and probably other causes led to the battle, during which Finnian is said to have prayed for the South and Columcille for the North[1]; the result was that the men of the North were completely victorious[2]. But now we come to two stories which may be regarded as sequels to the above. One is told by Adamnan (iii. 3), and according to this there was a synod at Teltown in Meath (presumably called together at the instance of Diarmait) at which Columba was excommunicated. St. Brendan of Birr however took his part, alleging a miracle in his favour, whereupon the excommunication was withdrawn and Columba treated with reverence and respect. It has been thought, however, that the

[1] The metrical version of Columba's prayer on this occasion contains the singular expression *mo drui . . Mac Dé*, My Druid . . the Son of God, *Chron. Scotorum* 52, or, as quoted in Reeves's note on *Magi*, *Is e mo drai Crist mac De* (ed. 1857, p. 74).

[2] According to the legend of the Cathach or 'Battler,' Columba obtained possession of his 'son-book.' A mutilated Psalter, regarded in the eleventh century as the one copied by Columba as above stated, and then provided with a *cumdach* or silver shrine, has remained to this day in the hereditary keeping of the O'Donnells, and is at present deposited by them in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It was carried by the clan to insure victory in battle so lately as 1497, slung round the breast of its hereditary keeper. It is written in a small round hand without much ornament, and has been considered to be quite possibly a genuine autograph of St. Columba. See Anderson, 146–149; Joyce, *Hist.* 19. But see above, iv. § 10, note, p. xliv.

censure which had been expressed, together with some searchings of heart on account of the strife that had been stirred up and the blood that had been shed, may have had something to do with his leaving Ireland. The other story is an Irish legend to the effect that after the battle of Culdreimhne he went to his soul-friend or confessor, St. Laisren or Molaise of Innis-murray, then at Ahamlish, about two miles northward, and that the saint bade him leave Ireland as a penance, and go and win souls for Christ as many as the lives that had been lost in the battle, and never look upon his native land again or set foot upon its soil. The story of St. Columba's life can hardly be told without these legends, but, as Reeves points out, there is no need to look for any other motive than that stated by Adamnan, 'Pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit' (Pref. 2). This statement implies, he thinks [1], that Columba went of his own accord, 'in good spirits,' as the old Irish life says, and the same is thought to be implied in the Salamanca *Acta SS.* col. 847, quoted by Reeves in his note on the above passage [2], which should be consulted for further references. And moreover the men of the Dalriadan colony were to Columba what the Jews were to St. Paul, his 'kinsmen according to the flesh.' Moreover, his connexion with Ireland was fully kept up. We shall find that he returned more than once, and took a prominent part in Irish affairs. His reputation in Ireland at that time would not greatly suffer if he did show himself to be resentful or vindictive, or take a leading part as a man of war. Public opinion was then but very imperfectly developed on such points, very little leavened by the doctrine of Christ. In the ancient annals of Ireland are numerous entries of faction-fights between different monastic fraternities, and till the time of Adamnan, about 700, the clergy bore weapons to synods, and sometimes fought with them. The tribal organization aggravated ill-feeling,

[1] But the words are quite consistent with either of the traditional explanations.

[2] *Adamnan*, 1857, p. 9.

and even the women fought, and as fiercely as the men [1]. It is no marvel then if Columba, a leading spirit in the great clan of the northern Hy-Neill, considering himself affronted by King Diarmait, incited his kinsmen to fight about matters which would be felt most keenly as closely touching their tribal honour. But at the same time, such a man as he was may very well, upon calm reflection, whether under the direction of a spiritual adviser or not, have considered that his enthusiasm and energies would be more worthily bestowed on missionary work than in maintaining the dignity of his clan. And he would naturally be attracted to that Irish colony which had been planted in North Britain, just over against the north-east coast of Ireland, about the time of his birth. For ruler [2] and people alike were his family connexions, their Christianity was in peril of extinction, and, if he could bring about a revival of religion among them, he might hope next to convert their near neighbours, the Pagan Picts. They had, moreover, sustained a great reverse in 560, when Brude King of the Picts had attacked them, driven them into the peninsula of Kintyre and other parts most remote from the mainland, and slain their 'King.' These misfortunes would not fail to engage the sympathies of Columba on their behalf.

VII. Columba in Iona.

His departure from Ireland.

§ 1. We are told by Cummian (cap. iv) that 'in those days,' referring to the time when Columba was a young deacon with St. Finnian of Moville, he sailed over to Britain with twelve fellow-soldiers, his disciples. But Adamnan, who makes use of this passage in quite a different connexion [3], carefully avoids the anachronism, and places Columba's departure after the battle

[1] Women were exempted from military service in 590 and 697, monks not till 804. Reeves, 1857, 255; 1874, xlviii; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 108–110.

[2] Conall Mac Comghall, sixth lord of British Dalriada.

[3] iii. 4, p. 133.

of Cuildremhne[1], in the forty-second year of his age, i. e. A. D. 563, when we find him in Britain with his kinsman Conall, king or lord of British Dalriada[2], who, according to the Irish Annals, in the same year made to him a donation of the island of Iona. Bede ascribes this donation to the Picts, and places it later[3], the whole truth probably being that the Pictish tribe, to whom the island had belonged before the coming of the Irish, still claimed it in some sense, and confirmed Conall's donation after they became Christian, and indeed because they had become Christian, as Bede intimates. It was on the confines of Scotic and Pictish jurisdiction, and formed a most desirable centre for missionary work. There is not the least hint that Columba either sought or obtained papal sanction for this mission, any more than Columbanus did for his mission to the Germans and Swiss.

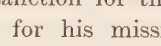
§ 2. Iona[4] is a small island about three miles long from

[1] 'Anno secundo post,' Pref. 2. p. 5, 'duobus transactis annis,' i. 7. p. 23. The writer of Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (see note on iii. 5, p. 135) mentions the miracle of the wine, then that of the submerged writing, and then gives this account of the mission to the Picts; 'Postquam vir sanctus ad ea, quae quondam mente proposuerat, implenda, ad peregrinationis videlicet propositum, et ad convertendos ad fidem Pictos, opportunum tempus adesse videret, patriam suam reliquit et ad Insulam Ionam, quae in Septentrionali Oceano inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sita est, prospero navigavit cursu, ibique, nobilissimum construens Monasterium, candidos Monachorum greges salutiferis doctrinae alimentis pavit: Pictos quoque ad fidem Christi convertit.' *Tr.Th.* 326a.

[2] i. 7. p. 23.

[3] *H. E.* iii. 3.

[4] The usual name 'Iona' has been suggested by a misreading of the adjective 'Ioua,' confirmed by an imaginary connexion with 'Iona,' the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin 'Columba.' Adamnan's practice is to put the names of islands as adjectives agreeing with *insula*. The root of *Ioua* is *I ou* or *Eo*, and Codex A always has *Ioua*, thus,



which reading prevails also in Codd. C, F, S. Colgan took 'Iona' from an inaccurate transcript of Cod. A, and saw that it was an adjective, though not aware of its true form. In Irish writings the name occurs as Ia, hIe, hI, Eo, I, often with the addition of 'Coluimcille.' In Latin we find Hii, Eo, Hu, Hy, Hya, Hi, I, Iona, and the adjectives Ioua, Euea, Hiiensis, and Ionensis. The Saxon Chronicles have Ii and Hii. Scottish forms are Yi, Hii-coluimchille, Hy, Iona, Yona, I, Hii. On the

NE. to SW., and varying in breadth from one mile to a mile and a half. It is separated from the Ross of Mull by a sound or strait about a mile across. The surface is very uneven, the rocky bones protruding through the skin of turf in almost every part. The most prominent object is Dunii, the highest hill, which has an elevation of 330 feet. None of the other hills are over 200 feet. The rocks are mostly Laurentian gneiss, but there is some marble and other limestone. There are also many ice-borne masses of granite lying about, one of which is six feet out of the ground, eleven paces long, and four or five across at the ends, but broader in the middle. The soil, where not peat, of which it consists in the boggy hollows among the rocky hills, is calcareous sand, consisting entirely of the comminuted shells of two or three species of land snails which live and die in such countless numbers on the sheep-nibbled pastures near the sea, that the beds of sand, which drift like snow, are in some places twenty to thirty feet thick. These pastures are formed by the accumulation of sand and growth of grass, clover, thyme, &c. in what would otherwise be bays girded in by the rocks on the original coast-line. The principal of these is the Machar or western plain. The eastern or sheltered side of the island presents slopes of soil well fitted for ancient husbandry, at a time when drainage was unknown. The lake or morass called the Lochan Mor, which once afforded enough water to turn the abbey mill, is now drained, and the bed of the stream leading from it, at present about twelve feet deep, was quite dry in June 1893, though sometimes full enough to turn a mill. Indications of ancient ploughing may still be seen on hill sides now de-

Description of Iona.

monuments in the island Y is the prevailing form, but 'Iona' seems to be the true reading of the monument of the Prioress Anna, 1543, at the Nunnery church. Icolmkill, Ycolmkill, and Ecolmkill are the regular forms in legal documents, and Eecholuim-cille is at present the recognized vernacular. On a gravestone of 1790 is I-Colm-kill. See further in Reeves, 1857, 258; 1874, cxxvii. 'Iona,' although an incorrect form, has now become thoroughly established, and may therefore be used, under protest.

voted to pasturage, but much of the land at present under the plough has probably been so cultivated ever since the time of St. Columba. And not only did the little island afford a good proportion of pasture and corn land; the sound or *fretum* was and is, like some of the rivers of Columba's native Erin, *valde piscosum*[1]. The local features alluded to by Adamnan are the following; *Munitio Magna*, ii. 4; *Mons qui monasterio eminus supereminet*, i. 30; *Monticellus monasterio supereminens*, iii. 23; *Monticellus qui occidentali supereminet campulo*, iii. 16; *Colliculus Angelorum*, ii. 44, iii. 16; *Cuul-Eilne*, i. 37; *Campulus occidentalis*, i. 37, ii. 28, iii. 16; *Portus insulae*, i. 45, ii. 15, ii. 45. Beside these may be mentioned *Port-na-Churaich*, at the southern end of the island, where Columba is said first to have landed, and, hard by, the hill crowned by the cairn *Cul ri Erin*. These places are identified, as far as possible, in the notes and index. The site of the ancient monastery was supposed by Dr. Skene to have been about four hundred yards to the north of the mediaeval ruins, but nothing can be traced except some earthworks on the west side, which may be prehistoric. He also considered that the great flat boulder stone above mentioned marks the site of the refectory, and that it is the 'stone that was in the *Recles* or monastery,' mentioned as used for a table in the preface to a hymn attributed to St. Columba (*Liber Hymnorum*, pt. ii. p. 220)[2]. On the whole, there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that the present ruins are, as might be expected, on the original site. Any description of them would be outside the purpose of the present work.

§ 3. The old Irish Life is to the same effect as Adamnan's with regard to Columba's reasons, namely, that, having made the circuit of all Erin, he desired to

His coming to Iona.

[1] 'The large flounders of the Sound of Iona are still an important item in the diet of its people. The rocks and islets all around swarmed with seals, and their flesh seems to have been a favourite article of food.' (Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, 93.)

[2] On the topography of Iona, see Reeves, 1857, 413–433; *Iona* by the Duke of Argyll, 1889, ch. ii; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 95–101.

preach the word of God to the men of Alba, and to the Britons, and to the Saxons ; that his age was forty-two when he went on his voyage, and that he lived thirty-four years in Alba. O'Donnell's Life (1532) contains the later traditions concerning the saint, and here we have the popular story of his voyage, a sequel to that of the penance enjoined by St. Molaise, namely, that he first landed on the island of Colonsay and climbed the highest hill, when, finding that Ireland was visible from that point, he would not remain, but sailed on to Iona, where he again climbed the most likely hill, and, being satisfied that Ireland was no longer in sight, founded his church on the island he had now reached. On each of the hills his point of observation is marked by a cairn called *Cul ri Erin* (Back upon Ireland). According to Irish Annals[1] he arrived on the night (eve) of Pentecost, May 12 in 563, and an old Irish quatrain states the number of his company thus, apparently including the twelve special disciples :

> Illustrious the army that was in Hii,
> Thrice fifty in monastic rule ;
> With their *Curachs*, along the sea
> For rowing were three score men[2].

On Columba's arrival in Iona, two bishops attempted to conduct him out of the island, but when he told them what he knew about them they left the island to him. They were probably members of one of the Patrician 'colleges' or fraternities of seven bishops, ministering to the Dalriadan colonists, but O'Donnell supposes that they were Druids in disguise. The first thing which Columba and his companions would do would be to occupy any available buildings that they could find on the island, and then to supplement these by others, until they had established

[1] See the *Chronicon Hyense* in Reeves, 1857, 370 ; 1874, 334.

[2] Another quatrain quoted in the old Irish Life (Skene's *Celtic Sc.* ii. 491) really relates to the Convention of Drumceatt (*ib.* 123). 'Quinquagesima' (*ib.* 491) there means Pentecost, the time named in the Latin annals. (Prima nox ejus in Albain in Pentecosten.) So in the *Stowe Missal* (Warren. *Celtic Liturgy*, p. 235).

a fully developed Celtic monastery, with church, cashel, and all complete. Adamnan indicates that their first buildings were of wood and wattles, and we find no mention of any stone buildings in Iona of Columba's time, unless, perhaps, the kiln. The church is called 'oratorium,' which term is the ordinary equivalent of *Duirthech*, oak building? while 'ecclesia' represents *Damhliag*, stone church. But in the small island called Eilean na Naoimh (Isle of Saints) there still remain some beehive cells [1] and other stone buildings of the first monastery that Columba founded after that of Iona. The many particulars that can be gathered from Adamnan respecting Iona have been most admirably classified by Bishop Reeves [2]. The Columban church there first planted afterwards embraced the whole region north of the firths of Forth and of Clyde, and gave to the Angles of Northumbria, through St. Aidan, Celtic Christianity and Celtic ecclesiastical art. The Lindisfarne Gospels, and many sculptured crosses and other works of the Celtic school, remain as abiding monuments of the source whence we first of all derived the Christianity of the North of England.

His mission to the Picts.

Columba appears to have laboured among the Irish settlers in the neighbourhood of Iona for about two years, and then to have journeyed through Glen More nan Albin, that mighty chasm which divides Scotland obliquely between Oban and Inverness, and so to the court of King Brude, in the immediate neighbourhood of the site now occupied by the latter town [3].

[1] Any of these early buildings may be of Columba's time. In Iona, in a valley between Dunii and Dunbhuirg, are the foundations of a cell measuring about 16 feet by 14, called the Culdees' Cell, and, on the higher ground above Port Laithrichean, a better preserved one, about 6 or 7 feet by 9, retaining the sideposts of its doorway.

[2] *Adamnan*, 1857, 357–362; 1874, cxix–cxxii; see also Skene's *Celtic Sc.* ii. 95–101, and above, p. xxxvii.

[3] Dr. Reeves thought that Brude's residence was at Craig Phadrick, where there is a vitrified fort. (*Adamn.* 1857, 151 n.; 1874, 277.) But Dr. Skene considers that a ridge called Torvean, a part of which is encircled by ditches and ramparts, suits Adamnan's narrative better than the hill-fort does. (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. 105 n.)

And just as St. Patrick had attacked Irish paganism at the court of King Laoghaire on the hill of Tara, so now St. Columba attacked Pictish paganism at the court of King Brude on the river Ness. Adamnan tells us that at first the king would not open his gates to the strangers, but that, when Columba made the sign of the cross and knocked, the bolts flew back and the gates were opened. We learn from the life of St. Comgall that Columba's companions were himself and St. Canice, who, being Irish Picts, were the better able to confer with the Picts of Britain. Like King Laoghaire at Tara, King Brude was at first influenced by his Druids to oppose the missionaries, but, as in the former case, his hostility was soon disarmed, and his conversion effected. Nor were his people long before they followed their leader, and the number of churches dedicated to St. Columba in that neighbourhood still bears witness to the mark which he made. During the nine years which followed Brude's conversion, Columba laboured diligently among the Picts, perfected himself in their language, and frequently visited the king, who granted or confirmed to him the possession of Iona. Sometimes, no doubt, he visited his monastery there, for he retained the headship as long as he lived, one of the brethren taking his place during his absences. All the lives of Columba refer to his meeting with opposition from the Druids. There was one in particular, named Broichan, who had been the king's foster-father and tutor, and who was greatly disconcerted, as was natural, by the conversion of Brude and his people. There is a story of Broichan and his Druids trying to stop Columba and his monks when they came forth from the enclosure of the king's residence to chant their evensong. The people were attracted by this new singing, and, when Columba lifted up his ringing voice in the words *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum : dico ego opera mea regi*, the Druids were afraid, and, we may suppose, retired. Broichan is said at another time to have raised an adverse storm just as Columba

was embarking on Loch Ness, but the saint sailed away against the wind. Another story is that Broichan had an Irish captive maid whom he would not set free when Columba asked him to do so. The saint prophesied that the Druid's death would soon follow his refusal, and it was not long before his messengers came to say he was now dying, and willing to set the captive free. Columba blessed a pebble and told them to put it in water and give the water to Broichan to drink, and that he would then soon recover, provided that he gave the maiden her liberty. These directions were followed with the desired results, and the pebble was long preserved in the royal treasury. But, when King Brude required its aid, it could not be found, and so he died[1]. It was in 584, twenty years after his conversion, that his death took place, and he was succeeded by a Christian king, Gartnaidh son of Domelch, under whom the new-born Pictish Church continued to prosper.

§ 4. To go back now to the recorded events of St. Columba's life. In 573 he instituted a festival at Iona in commemoration of his friend St. Brendan of Birr, who died in that year. At various unknown dates he founded churches in the neighbourhood of Iona; Adamnan mentions Ethica (insula), Elena, Hinba, and Scia. In 574 died Conall, lord of the British Dalriads, and his cousin Aedhan was inaugurated by St. Columba at Iona[2]. In the following year (575) Columba and Aedhan both attended the famous convention of Drumceatt, a long mound now called the Mullagh, or Daisy Hill, in the county of Londonderry, near Newtownlimavaddy. It was afterwards thought necessary to reconcile this and other visits to Ireland with the terms of the penance enjoined on Columba by St.

Other recorded events.

[1] Dr. Stokes says that a belief in pebbles as charms against diseases of man and beast still prevails among the Irish peasantry, and gives some references to articles on the subject. *Ireland and Celtic Ch.* 124 n. Reeves, on ii. 33, refers to Martin's *Western Islands*, 134, 166, 183, 246, and to Ussher, *Works*, iii. 442.

[2] Columba appears to have been *anmcara* or soul-friend to Aedhan.

Molaise[1], and so there grew up a legendary story that he came with a sod of Alba under his feet, and with a cere-cloth, woollen cap, and cowl over his eyes[2]. The convention was called by Aedh son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, in 575, and consisted, says Skene[3], 'of all the petty kings and heads of tribes and of the principal clergy in Ireland,' as well as a large ecclesiastical contingent brought by Columba. The bard Dallan Forgaill, in the *Amhra* or panegyric referred to above (i. § 8), states their number thus:

> 'His company was forty priests,
> Twenty bishops of noble worth;
> For the psalm-singing, without dispute,
> Thirty deacons, fifty youths' (*lit.* 'sons').

This retinue probably included representative men from Derry and other Columban monasteries in Ireland, together with some from Iona and perhaps from other places thereabout. The *Amhra* mentions three causes for which Columba came, viz., the liberation of Scanlann, a state prisoner, the protection of the Bards, and pacification between Erin and Alba with respect to Dalriada. He did not effect the first object. What he did for the Bards has been related above (i. § 8). He and Aedhan together obtained for Dalriada that it should pay no more tribute to the King of Ireland, but should join in military, though not in maritime expeditions when called upon. Thus Dalriada became an allied though not a subject state, and it is supposed that on his return Columba obtained from King Brude a recognition of Aedhan as independent king over the British Dalriads. It was at this convention that the influence of Columba procured a decree exempting women from military service[4].

Many of the circumstances related by Adamnan belong to Columba's life in Iona, e. g. the foundations of Campus Lunge and Artchain existing in Tiree, a monastery, seemingly connected with penitential discipline, in Hinba insula, and

[1] See above, p. lxiii.
[2] Reeves, 1857, 322; 1874, lxxxix.
[3] *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 123.
[4] Stokes, *Celtic Church*, 109.

a hermitage at Muirbulcmar[1]. We read also that four founders of monasteries came from Ireland to visit Columba in Hinba, viz. Comgall of Bangor and Cainnech of Aghaboe, who had gone with him to King Brude, Brendan of Clonfert, and Cormac the founder of some monastery unknown, for whom Columba, through King Brude, sought the protection of the chieftain of the Orkneys when he (Cormac) went in search of a solitary island for a hermitage. This must have been before 577, when St. Brendan of Clonfert died. About 579 there was some disputed point, probably connected with jurisdiction, about a church near Coleraine, on which St. Columba and St. Comgall could not agree. Hence resulted the battle of Coleraine, on the debateable ground between the Dal-Araidhe, the kinsmen of St. Comgall, and the Hy-Neill, those of St. Columba. It does not appear which side came off victorious, or how far the ecclesiastical chiefs were responsible for the fighting. Some time about 585 Columba was in Ireland for some months on business connected with his new foundation of Durrow, and at this time he visited Clonmacnoise[2]. In 587 was fought the battle of Cuilfedha near Clonard, in which again St. Columba is said to have been concerned. A Preface to his hymn *Altus Prosator* attributes its composition to a desire for 'forgiveness for the three battles he had caused in Erin[3].' He was *anmcara*, soul-friend, or spiritual director to at least one saint and two kings (Warren, p. 148), and doubtless to many others. In 593, the thirtieth year of his life at Iona, he thought he was going to die, but, after a vision of angels, he foretold that his departure would be delayed for four years[4]. At the end of this period, just after the midnight between June 8 and 9, 597, he was found lying before the altar in a dying state, and very shortly after, having given his blessing to the monks who had gathered

[1] For these places and the reff. see Index.

[2] Adamnan, i. 3, p. 18.

[3] *Liber Hymnorum*, 224; Reeves, 1857, 253; 1874, xlvi. On the earlier battle see p. lxi.

[4] Adamnan, iii. 22. p. 153.

together, he passed to the Lord as he lay in the arms of Diormit, his attendant[1]. The long chapter which describes the closing scenes of St. Columba's life is to a great extent Cummian's, but Adamnan introduces some beautiful and touching incidents, e. g. that of the old white horse weeping with its head on the saint's bosom, as foreseeing his death. The last thing Columba did before going into the church for the last time was transcribing the Psalter, and the last verse he wrote was *Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono.* And here, he said, I must stop, let Baithene write the rest. The whole narrative is most interesting, and may be compared with Bede's account of the death of Boisil[2], and with the letter of Cuthbert abbot of Jarrow on the death of Bede[3].

Adamnan's summary.

§ 5. In the latter part of his second Preface, Adamnan gives a short but expressive summary of St. Columba's characteristics both of body and mind. One was that he could not bear to be idle even for an hour, he must always be doing something, which rather reminds us of Eddius's graphic touch about St. Wilfrid, that he was 'a quick walker.' It is of men like Columba and Wilfrid of whom it may be said with a special significance, that 'their works do follow them.' There are some life-like touches in Colgan's *Vita Secunda* (*Tr. Th.* 327 a) where he speaks of St. Columba taking off the brethren's shoes, after their labours, and washing their feet in warm water, like St. Cuthbert:

> he walde come forthe, and þaim mete,
> And with hate water wesche þair fete.
> *Metr. Life*, 2261 : Bede, *Vit. S. C.* xviii.

[1] Adamn. iii. 23. p. 159. He was buried at Iona after the usual exequies, p. 162. Adamnan speaks of his body as being there when he wrote, p. 164. So again Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4. The Annals of Tighernach and of Ulster record a series of enshrinings which took place in Ireland in the eighth century. See Reeves, 1857, 312–318. It is impossible to know what became of his relics at last; many places, including Durham, claimed to have portions of them.

[2] *Vit. S. Cuthb.* viii.

[3] Symeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* i. 15.

Often would he carry a bag of flour on his shoulders from the mill to the kitchen. In fastings, vigils, prayers, meditations, preachings, and other works of charity, he was unwearied beyond belief. He used a stone for a pillow, and would lie on the ground, with only a leather hide under him. And, notwithstanding all his austerities, he was worthy to be admired by all for his handsome face, his ruddy cheeks, and his well-nourished appearance. The mortifications become still more severe in O'Donnell's Life (*Tr. Th.* 437).

§ 6. It has been already mentioned that Columba was a poet, and in all probability a member of the Order of the Bards. Three Latin hymns are attributed to him, viz. *Altus Prosator* and its complement *In te Christe*, with a third beginning *Noli Pater*. There are also two Irish poems, viz. the *Farewell to Aran*, and a poem on the occasion of his flight from King Diarmait, as well as several others which have less claim to be considered genuine. Dr. Reeves prints two of these, which are at any rate very ancient, with translations. Each of the Latin hymns has a preface describing the occasion of its composition [1].

Columba's works.

The so-called *Rule of St. Columba*, printed in Irish and English in Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 119, Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 508 (English only), and elsewhere, is not a Rule at all corresponding to St. Benedict's, but rather a collection of maxims for a solitary who was to live in a cell contiguous to a monastery [2]. Colgan, who lived before the dispersion of Irish MSS., knew of no other Rule

[1] On the Latin Hymns see Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 1869, 201–263; Dict. of Hymnology, art. *Altus Prosator*; on these and the Irish poems Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857. lxxviii, 264; 1874, xl; Healy, 326. For a remarkable legend concerning the *Altus*, see O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 76.

[2] There are foundations which may be those of a *Disert* or hermit's cell, eight paces long by four across inside, at *Cladh an Diseart* (cemetery of the *Disert*) two or three fields to the NE. of St. Mary's at Iona. Here was found a fragment of a cross with figure on it, and near it the boulder stone with a cross on it called St. Columba's pillow. On such cells see Reeves, 1857, 366, 418; 1874, cxxiv, cxxxvi; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 374.

of St. Columba, and to this one he attached very little importance [1].

His religious opinions.

§ 7. A few words may be said about the religion of St. Columba and of the Scotic Church in his time. It was certainly neither 'Roman' nor 'Protestant,' in the ordinary sense of those terms; the modern system that comes nearest to it is that of the Churches of the Anglican Communion as understood by the school which has arisen out of the Tractarian movement. We find evidence of Confession, public however rather than private, optional rather than compulsory, and absolution was usually deferred till the penance had been performed [2]; of Invocation of Saints [3] and confidence in their protection; of belief in the Real Presence; of the practices of fasting [4] and penance, of prayers for the departed, and of the sign of the Cross. But we find no indication of the 'worship' now offered to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, nor of Unction of the sick in any form, nor the least allusion to any supremacy in the See of Rome, or indeed to any connexion therewith. The atmosphere of miracle, in which Adamnan lived when he wrote, was that of the times, and is very similar to what we find in Bede. Everything was thought possible or even probable when related as a miracle. Adamnan told the stories as they were told to him or to Cummian, perhaps with a little unconscious infusion of the miraculous element. Some have found it impossible to explain such narratives without attributing deliberate invention

[1] On this and other Irish Rules see Reeves, *Adamn.* 1857, 336; 1874, ci.

[2] Warren, p. 148, and see above, iv. § 12. p. xlvi.

[3] Invocation of Saints has not been revived in the Church of England.

[4] Some genuine tradition of St. Columba's asceticism is probably enshrined in the curious story that he resolved to take nettle pottage without any dripping or fat, and that he became so thin that the impression of his ribs through his woollen tunic was seen in the sandy beach at Iona, where he used to lie at night. And it is said that Diormit his gillie contrived a tubular stick by means of which he secretly introduced butter into the pottage of nettles, whereby he brought upon himself a severe rebuke. (*Tr. Th.* 436; *Mart. Doneg.* 165; *Cal. of Oengus* c.)

to the narrator[1]. The 'story of the staff' (ii. 14) has been instanced as a case of this kind. There is no need however to doubt that in Adamnan's mind a very simple matter had assumed a miraculous complexion. If St. Columba sent St. Cainnech's staff after him by some ship which reached Ireland sooner than his own, this would explain the facts, and what was first believed to be providential would very soon be regarded as miraculous, and related as such in all good faith, with 'the exaggerations (and suppressions) of detail which transform the providential into the miraculous,' but without any intention to deceive.

VIII. Columba's Successors, up to and including Adamnan.

During the eighty-two years that passed between the death of St. Columba and the accession of his biographer Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Iona, seven abbots presided over the house. A short notice of each of these will serve to connect the lives of Columba and Adamnan[2].

§ 1. Columba was succeeded by his first cousin Baithene, whom he had brought up as his foster-child, and who to the last was one of his most intimate associates. Having been a monk in Derry, he came with St. Columba from Ireland, as one of 'the twelve,' and presided over the monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tiree, a penitential house, occasionally visiting and performing duties in Iona and elsewhere. There is a curious story of his seeing three empty chairs in heaven ready for St. Ciaran, St. Columba, and himself. He was sometimes employed in copying manuscripts. He was full of the spirit of prayer; while walking his hands were clasped under his habit; while reaping he prayed as he carried the handfuls of

Baithene, 597–600.

[1] E.g. the Duke of Argyll, *Iona*, p. 45.

[2] For further particulars, see the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* under the names, where a great number of references to earlier works will be found, also the digest of facts under each name in Reeves, 1857, 370–376, 1874, cxlvii–cxlix; Healy, 331–334.

oats, and at his meals he would say *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* between every two morsels of food. Having ruled in Iona for three years, he fainted by the altar on June 4, 600. The brethren wept around him, and Diormit, Columba's old attendant, thinking he was dying, remarked how small an interval would separate the feast days of the two abbots. Baithene opened his eyes, and prayed that he might be taken on the same day as his dear master. His prayer was heard, and he, like Columba, departed on the 9th day of June. Columba used to liken him to John the beloved disciple, and he was afterwards said to have had no equal on this side the Alps in knowledge of Holy Scripture.

Laisren, 600–605.

§ 2. Baithene was succeeded by Laisren the third abbot, whose father, Feradach, was first cousin both of himself and of St. Columba. Laisren was a pupil of St. Columba, and was with him and Diormit at Ardnamurchan in 572. He was in charge of Durrow, and superintending building operations there, during St. Columba's life. From the abbacy of Durrow he was raised to that of Iona on the death of St. Baithene.

Fergna Brit, 605–623.

§ 3. The next abbot was Fergna Brit, said to have been a bishop, but Dr. Reeves thinks there could not have been a bishop-abbot at Iona so early. He was of noble Irish descent, of the same race as St. Columba, but not so nearly related to him as his predecessors had been. Adamnan calls him Virgnous. His surname may indicate that he was of British descent on the mother's side ; cf. *Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 237a, Colgan, *Acta SS.* 448a. He ruled in Iona from 605 to 623, but no events of his abbacy are recorded on any good authority.

Seghine, 623–652.

§ 4. Seghine, nephew of Laisren the third abbot, succeeded, and during his abbacy he was connected with some very important affairs, though of his private life we know very little. He founded a church on Rechra island in 634, and he cherished recollections of St. Columba and his times, which he imparted to those who re-

lated them to Adamnan. He was a leading advocate of the Celtic Easter observance, and hence the letter addressed to him by Cummian in 634. Colgan and some later authorities have identified this Cummian with the seventh abbot of Iona, but it seems hardly likely that one who so strenuously espoused the Roman side in the Paschal controversy would ever have become abbot in the principal Columban monastery in the seventh century. His letter to Seghine was sent in reply to his being charged with being a schismatic, and a forsaker of his country's traditions. In this letter Cummian says ironically: 'Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Antiochia errat; totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt!' The letter is valuable as showing the position taken up by the advocates of that more correct calculation of Easter which at last prevailed, and the learning with which it could be supported. But Seghine remained unconvinced. In 640 he may have been included as 'Segenus presbyter' among the Irish clergy whom John IV, while pope elect, addressed on the same subject. It was during Seghine's abbacy that Oswald king of Northumbria applied to the Scotic Church for a missionary bishop, and that, after the return of one[1] who was unsuccessful, St. Aidan was consecrated, and sent out as first bishop of Lindisfarne. Having ruled for twenty-nine years, Seghine died in 652.

§ 5. He was succeeded by Suibhne, the sixth abbot, son of Cuirtri, of whose genealogy nothing is known. Colgan has a short notice of him at Jan. 11, containing nothing of importance. Suibhne, 652-657.

§ 6. The seventh abbot was Cuimine Ailbhe (surnamed also Fionn or *Albus*, the Fair), nephew of Seghine the fifth abbot. He wrote a book *De virtutibus Sancti Columbae*, which has been transferred by Adamnan into his own pages, and is mentioned by him in the fifth chapter of his third book. He probably went to Cuimine Ailbhe, 657-669.

[1] Named Corman, but only on the doubtful authority of Hector Boëthius, *c.* 1470–1536. See AIDAN, in *Dict. Chr. Biography.*

Iona to be under his uncle Seghine, and on the death of Suibhne the family succession was restored in him. We have seen above, p. lxxix, that he is to be distinguished from the Cummian who advocated the Roman Easter. He died in 669.

Failbhe, 669–679.

§ 7. The next in the succession was Failbhe, who was great-grandson of Duach, first-cousin of Columba and of Baithene. He is twice mentioned by Adamnan, and is said in the Martyrology of Oengus to have twice revisited Ireland. All the annals record a journey in 673 and a return in 676. The Paschal controversy and missionary enterprise have both been suggested as possible reasons for his going into Ireland. St. Maelrubha, abbot of the Irish Bangor, went on a mission to the north-west of Scotland about that time. Failbhe died in 679.

Adamnan's childhood, 679–704.

§ 8. Adamnan, the ninth abbot, and author or compiler of the *Life of St. Columba*, was born twenty-seven years after the death of the latter, namely, *c.* 624, and probably in SW. Donegal. His father, Ronan, was great-great-grandson of Sedna, uncle of St. Columba; his mother, Ronnat, was connected with an important race. His name, Adamnan, is a diminutive of Adam, either double, *-an* + *an*, or a compound with *nán*, 'little' (*nanus*), and appears in various forms [1]. Nothing whatever is

[1] The consonants d, m are first aspirated (dh, mh), and then, being thus weakened, are finally lost, so that we have the forms Ownan, Eunan, &c. St. Eunan, the patron of Raphoe, has been wrongly supposed to have been a different person from St. Adamnan. Sir James Ware represents Raphoe as founded by Columba, repaired by Adamnan, and made a cathedral by 'St. Eunan.' Pope Clement XII sanctioned a mass of 'St. Eunan' for Sept. 7, on which day the Bollandists and Alban Butler have notices of this same fictitious saint. The names of Irish saints are sometimes much disguised by phonetic changes, and by the endearing prefix mo (=my), as we say 'Our Lord' and 'Our Lady,' and the diminutives -an and -og. Thus from Aedh we have Aedhan (Aidan), and also Mo-aedh-og, or Moedhog, pronounced Mogue. Further, we have the last letter of 'Saint' attracted, as in Tedan for St. Aidan, Tantony for St. Antony, Tooley and Tulius for St. Olaf, and Tobin for St. Aubin. Thus Eunan (Adamnan) appears as Deunan and Thewnan in Scotland. (See Reeves, 1857, lxi. 256; 1874, clxiv, clxix; Todd, *St. Patrick*, 115 n.)

known of his early history. A curious story of his school-boy life, improbable, though not impossible, is told in the life of Finnachta the Festive, subsequently monarch of Ireland [1]. The Aberdeen Breviary represents him as admitted to be a monk by St. Columba, and even Baronius in the Roman Martyrology (Jun. 9) makes him contemporary (*aequalis*).

§ 9. He was doubtless brought up in some of the monastic schools, and, when he decided to be a monk, his thoughts would naturally turn to Iona, where Seghine his kinsman had been abbot during the whole of his life. Seghine lived till Adamnan was twenty-eight. During his time, and that of Suibhne, Cuimine, and Failbhe, we may suppose that Adamnan so progressed in piety, learning, and influence, as to be distinctly marked out among his kinsmen for the chair of St. Columba. Dr. Reeves thinks that there is sufficient evidence to justify Ward (R. C. Dean of Dublin) in the statement, 'Edoctus est omnes liberales, sacras et asceticas disciplinas, linguas etiam Hebraicam et Graecam ; et quidquid patria lingua (in qua tum pleraeque scientiae et Druydum quae non fuere damnata dogmata) scriptum esset vel artium, vel legum, vel historiarum [2].' His works show that he could write Latin, not classical indeed, but good of its kind, quite different from that of St. Patrick for example ; also that he had at least an interest in and some slight knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Bede, Ceolfrid, Alcuin, Fordun, and Irish writers, all bear high testimony to his learning and goodness [3]. In ii. 45. p. 121, we find him on three occasions out with the sailors when they went to the mainland for timber, &c. In 675 Finnachta, mentioned above, succeeded as monarch, and it is said that Adamnan was his *anmcara* or spiritual director. Education, &c.

§ 10. In 679 Adamnan, being now fifty-five years of age, succeeded to the chair of St. Columba. Bruide, son of Bile, king of the Picts, was now his contemporary, and appears to

[1] Reeves, 1854, xlii ; 1847, cxlix. Lovanii, 1662, p. 218.
[2] Vardaei *S. Rumoldi Acta*, &c.
[3] Reeves, 1854, lvii ; 1847, clxi.

have been his intimate friend. In the Irish Life of Adamnan is a curious story of this king's burial at Iona in 693. Aldfrith or Ealdfrith, the Northumbrian prince who succeeded his brother Ecgfrith as king in 685, was at the time of Adamnan's accession (679) a refugee in Ireland, and during his exile was under instruction with Irish monks, for some time at least, according to the author of the early anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert[1], at Iona, which is in accordance with the statement of Bede, 'in insulis Scottorum ob studium literarum exulabat[2]'. The Irish knew Aldfrith as 'Flann Fina mac Ossa,' from Fina his alleged Irish mother and Oswiu his father. It was probably his connexion with Ireland through his mother that determined the place of his retirement and education. He was called the foster-son or *alumnus* of Adamnan, and when he came to the throne he readily restored sixty Irish captives whom his brother's general had carried away from Meath. It was probably with this object, among others, that Adamnan visited the Northumbrian court in the first year of Aldfrith's reign, and perhaps at the instance of King Finnachta. He appears to have kept up frequent communication with Aldfrith, to whom he presented his book *De Locis Sanctis*. While in Northumbria, he came under the influence of men more learned than himself, and changed his earlier convictions with regard to the Roman Easter and other observances. But he was unable to convince the brethren at Iona. In 692, he visited Ireland on political as well as ecclesiastical business, and appears to have been opposed to his old friend King Finnachta, and to have prophesied that his life should soon be cut off by fratricide, for that he had not given the same privileges to the lands of Columcille as were enjoyed by those of Patrick, Finnian, and Ciaran. And Finnachta fell by the hand of his cousin in 695. Adamnan seems to have been far more successful in promoting the new Easter

Succeeds as abbot in Iona; his life and works.

[1] Lib. iii. § 6.

[2] *Vit. S. Cuthb.* xxiv.

observance, &c. in Ireland than he had been in Iona. He again visited Ireland, in 697, for legislative purposes, and it is thought that he compiled his *Life of St. Columba* between this visit and the former one. In the *Life* he scarcely alludes to the Paschal controversy, and it has been suggested that he wrote it for the Irish Columbans, who had accepted his later teaching, and not for those of Iona, who held out for the ancient Celtic traditions. This supposition is contra-indicated by such terms as *nostra insula* (applied to *Iona insula*), *nostrum monasterium*, &c. The Rath of the Synods and the cross of Adamnan at Tara are supposed to be connected with a great convention held there during this second visit[1]. The enactments of this synod were called 'Lex Adamnani,' as modern Acts of Parliament are often named after their chief promoters. The main object of this law appears to have been to renew St. Columba's measures for the exemption of women from military service, and the one thing said of Adamnan in the Calendar of Oengus is 'To Adamnan of Iona whose troop is radiant, noble Jesus granted the lasting liberation of the women of the Gael,' with reference to which the *Leabhar Breac* gives the story about Adamnan having seen one woman dragging another by a reaping-hook fastened in her breast[2]. Adamnan seems to have remained in Ireland until 704, in which year he returned to Iona, where he soon after died. He had received the Roman tonsure in Ireland, and, says Mac Firbis,

[1] Tara had been deserted for 134 years, in consequence, as is said, of a curse pronounced upon it by St. Ruadan in 563 (for a picturesque account of which see O'Curry, *Manners*, &c. ii. 336), when the last assembly of the tribes under a king was held. But it has never ceased to be regarded as a great national centre. The Rath of the Synods is so called from synods said to have been held therein by SS. Patrick and Brendan, as well as this by St. Adamnan. Other memorials at Tara are Adamnan's 'pavilion' (site), 'chair,' mound, and cross. Daniel O'Connell held there what would now be called 'a monster gathering' in 1843. 'There was a million and a half with Dan,' said the widow Keelan (cp. p. lvi, n.). And quite lately a vulgar modern statue of St. Patrick has been set up in the very centre of the central rath.

[2] Reeves, 1857, 179; Stokes, *Cal. Oeng.* cxxxix, cxlvi.

'it was a great surprise to his congregation to see him with that tonsure.' He appears to have arrived after Easter in 704, and, as Bede points out, he was taken to his eternal rest before another Easter, and thereby delivered from any discord with the brethren on that subject (*H. E.* v. 15). He died on the 23rd of September, but we have no further record of the circumstances of his death or burial. The church of Skreen in co. Sligo is said to derive its name from a shrine of Adamnan preserved there [1].

His place in history, &c.

§ 11. Adamnan may be regarded as a sort of link between an earlier and a later phase in the history of the ancient Church of Ireland. He was brought up in the 'old learning,' but he adopted and promoted the Roman Easter and tonsure, to which the Celtic sentiment was so strongly and so long opposed. His undoubted writings are the work *De Locis Sanctis*, taken down on waxed tablets from Arculf's dictation, and then put into literary form, probably about 688, and the *Life of St. Columba*, compiled from earlier memoirs and the traditions of Iona between 692 and 697. This *Life* is described by Pinkerton as 'the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but throughout the whole middle ages'; by Dr. Reeves, as 'an inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church: perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time,' and as 'one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence'; by Bishop A. P. Forbes, as 'the solitary record of the history of the Church of Scotland, and, with the exception of Bede and the Pictish Chronicle, the chief trustworthy monument till we come to the Margaretan reformation'; by Montalembert, as 'un des monuments les plus vivants, les plus attrayants et les plus authentiques de l'histoire chrétienne.' And the Duke of Argyll well says, 'that we find in Columba's *Life*,

[1] On the shrine or shrines of Adamnan, see Reeves, 1857, lxiii; 1874, clxv.

not only the firm foothold of history, but the vivid portraiture of an individual man . . . Not one historical character of the time . . . is in any similar degree known to us. On one spot, and one spot only, of British soil, there shines in this dark time a light, more vivid even than the light of common history—the light of personal anecdote and of domestic narrative. When we land upon Iona, we can feel that we are treading in the very footsteps of a man whom we have known in voice, in gesture, in habits, and in many peculiarities of character; and yet, of a man who walked on the same ground before the Heptarchy, when Roman cities still stood in Britain, and when the ancient Christianized Celts of Britain were maintaining a doubtful contest with Teutonic heathenism[1].'

Adamnan is said also to have written a *Life of St. Patrick*, certain poems, a work on Irish history, and an epitome of Irish laws[2].

Many churches, wells, &c. are dedicated to him both in Ireland and in Scotland, and Reeves points out that the dedications to St. Columba and to St. Adamnan keep very close together[3].

§ 12. After the death of Adamnan there was a schism in Iona between those who at last came over to his later views, and those who did not, and there appear to have been rival abbots. In 717 the Columban monks were expelled from the kingdom of the Picts. In 794 Iona was for the first of many times ravaged by Danish pirates. In 814 to 831 the monastery was rebuilt with stone and the shrine of St. Columba set up therein. In 878 the shrine and relics of St. Columba were taken to Ireland. In 1059–1093 Queen Margaret rebuilt the monastery. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Iona shared in the general decadence of the old Celtic Church, and in 1203 were founded a Benedictine abbey and nunnery in I, or Iona, in

Schism in Iona.

[1] *Iona*, 55–57.
[2] Reeves, 1857, lx; 1874, clxiii.
[3] Reeves, 1857, lxi-lxvii; 1874, clxiv–clxix.

honour of God and of St. Columba. The ruins, still standing, are those of the buildings of this foundation, though probably imagined by many tourists to be those of St. Columba's monastery.

Conclusion; Adamnan's Latin style.

§ 13. This Introduction, which has perhaps extended to an undue length, may fitly close with Dr. Reeves's account of Adamnan's Latin style, from the memoir included in the appendix to his preface.

Adamnan's style.

§ 14. 'Of Adamnan's two Latin works, the tract *De Locis Sanctis* is the better written and more flowing, but it bears a striking resemblance to the other in many particulars of style, and the use of peculiar words and phrases. In the following pages the reader will observe the liberal employment of diminutives[1] so characteristic of Irish composition; and he will find them, in many cases, used without any grammatical force, and commutable, in the same chapter, with their primitives. The same tendency is also observable among verbs in the use of frequentatives and intensitives. He delights in the distributive numerals instead of cardinals, and in the adjective termination *-ax* where admissible[2]. He uses the pluperfect for the perfect, and the nominative instead of the ablative absolute. He occasionally employs Greek, or Greco-Latin words[3]; and in a few instances introduces Irish or Hiberno-Latin expressions. Proper names he sometimes inflects according to the rules of Irish grammar, so that in a Latin narrative they present an anomalous appearance. Above all, the artificial, and often unnatural, interweaving of his words, in long sentences, and the oft-recurring ablative absolute in awkward position, will strike the reader as remarkable features of the style.'

We may note too his habit of giving a Latin equivalent instead of or in addition to a native name, as is also done by

[1] See Glossary, s. v. *Diminutiva.*

[2] Note also his use of adjectival forms agreeing with *insula* (*Ed.*).

[3] And Greek letters. Such uses of Greek are found in other early Irish writings (*Ed.*).

Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, Colgan, O'Sullivan Bear, and others. Such interpretations are of great value as being many of them given by men to whom the Irish language was the mother tongue, and when the place-names were well understood.

Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham,
June 9, 1894.

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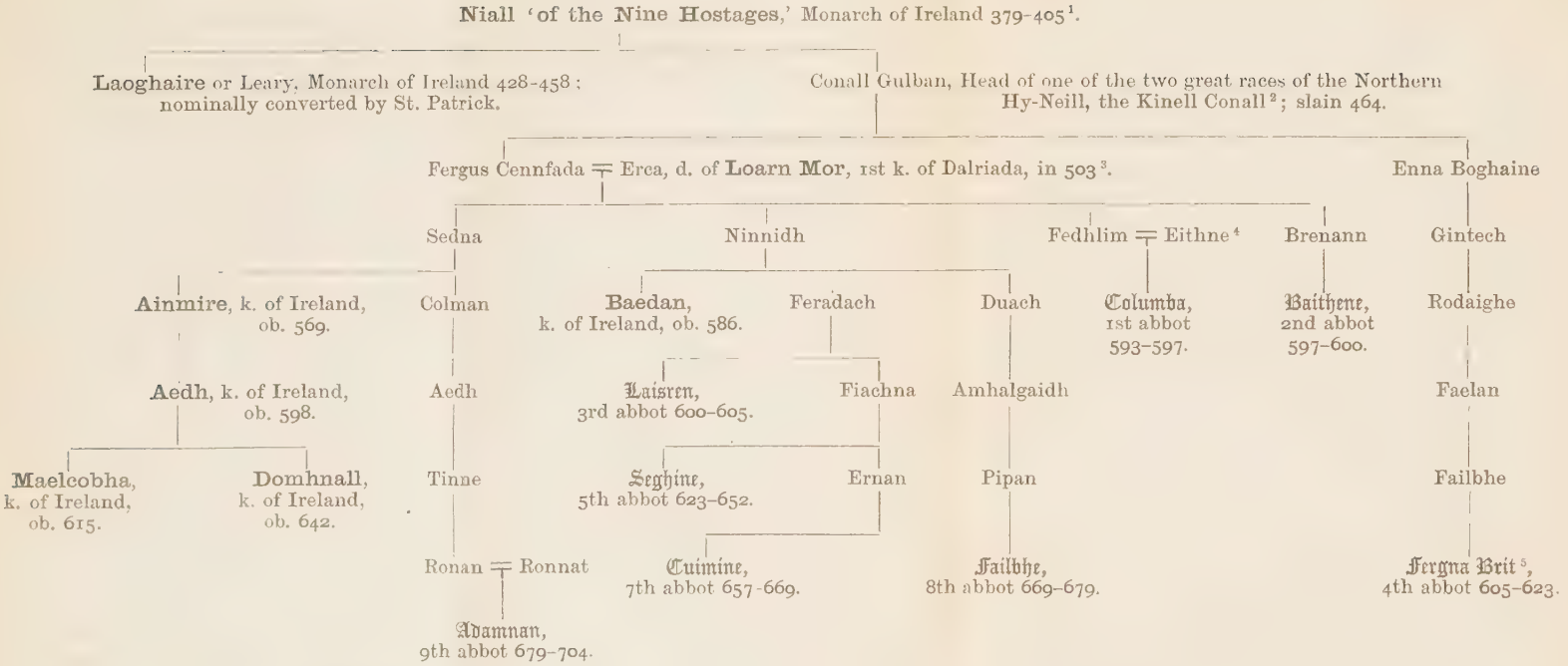
GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



Suibhne, the son of Cuirtri, was the 6th abbot 652–657, but nothing is known of his extraction.

[1] According to ancient Irish tradition, Niall was killed by an arrow shot across the river Loire by Eochaidh, son of the king of Leinster, A.D. 405.

[2] The other race, the Kinel Owen, were descended from Owen Gulban, another son of Niall. The Southern Hy-Neill were the descendants of Niall by another wife; p. 23 n.

[3] Succeeded by his brother Fergus Mor (2nd king), who was succeeded by his son Domhangart (3rd king), from whom were descended several kings, &c., who come into Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, and who were all related to him through his grandmother Erca.

[4] Tenth in descent from Cathaeir Mor, king of Ireland, A.D. 120.

[5] The genealogy of Fergna Brit may be one generation too long.

To follow p. xciv.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

P. xliv, note 2. Dr. J. H. Bernard thinks that the Domnach Airgid did not originally belong to the case, and is not earlier than the eighth century. Trans. of R. Irish Acad. xxx, pt. 7, pp. 307, 309.

P. 21, note 4, *Add the ref.*, *Acta SS. Hib.* ex cod. Salm. col. 375.

P. 35, line 21, *read* Britones, *and in note* 4, *read* Marshii.

P. 39, note 3, *read* Marshii.

P. 41, note 2, *read* Martyrs'.

P. 44, line 11, *read* transmotata ; note 2, *after* Ireland *add* and Scotland, *and in note* 5, *after* ch. 35, *add* ii. 27, *and at end of note*, See Glossary s. v.

P. 46, note 6, *read* Nigrum.

P. 58, note 1, line 4, *add ref.*, *Acta* &c. as on p. 21, col. 379, *and at the end*, See Glossary s. v.

P. 74, line 13, vita comite *should be in Italics.* See p. 102, note 2.

P. 78, note 4, *read* tiag (tiaga *is plural*).

P. 82. *Codex B adds to title of* ii. 13, ' in vortice brecain.'

P. 83, note 1, *add at end*, *Acta* &c. as on p. 21, col. 388.

P. 84, line 20, *read* terram.

P. 91, line 2, *read* homuncio.

P. 137, note 4, *add at the end*, Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, i. 94 97 ; E. Peacock in *Archaeological Journal*, March 1894, p. 51, and reff. *The Illustrated London News* of Apr. 14, 1894, says of the palace at Mandalay in Burmah that it is literally reared over the bones of some fifty persons of both sexes, and of all ages and ranks, sacrificed for the purpose, and that four of the victims were buried under the throne itself, p. 453.

P. 160, note 2, *erase comma after* Eddii.

VITA SANCTI COLUMBAE

[a] IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI ORDITUR PRAEFATIO.

BEATI nostri Patroni, Christo suffragante, vitam descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque admonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quae, ut aestimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiae exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare[1]; et nec ob aliqua Scoticae[2], vilis videlicet linguae, aut [b] humana onomata[3], aut gentium ob-

The origin and character of the work.

[a] Incipit prima praefatio apologiaque Adomnani abbatis sancti scriptoris in vitam S. Columbae confessoris et abbatis C.—vite sancti Columbae S. Incipit prologus Adamnani abbatis in vita sancti Columbae abbatis et confessoris D. *om.* F. *Codex* B *acephalus est, hodieque ad* -ro pectore verbo *in cap.* 3 *incipit.* [b] nomina anomala *inepte* Boll.

[1] *constare*] This paraphrase of 1 Cor. iv. 20, 'Non enim in sermone est regnum Dei, sed in virtute,' Vulg., has apparently been suggested by a similar passage in the preface to the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, quoted by Reeves, who thinks that Adamnan has borrowed other ideas from the same source.

[2] *Scoticae*] Irish, so *passim*; see note on *Scotia*, below, p. 5. The Celtic tongues were characterized as barbarous by Gregory, Bede, and others.

[3] *onomata*] This is the first of many instances in which Adamnan, following the fashion of his time, makes use of Greek loanwords. Latin words were sometimes written in Greek letters, though often incorrectly, and specimens of Greek, as for example the Lord's Prayer in Cod. A. of Adamnan, were written in a peculiar Irish form of the Greek character (Reeves, 1857, 354 and facsimile Pl. 3). Similar instances occur in the *Book of Armagh*, c. A. D. 807. See Intr. iv. § 13. Greek seems to have been cultivated as a matter of

scura locorumve vocabula, quae, ut puto, inter alias exterarum gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronuntiationem. Sed et hoc lectorem admonendum putavimus, quod de beatae memoriae viro plura, studio brevitatis, etiam memoria digna, a nobis sint praetermissa, et quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum fastidium lecturorum sint [a] caraxata [1]. Et hoc, ut arbitror, quisque haec lecturus forte annotabit, quod minima de maximis per populos fama de eodem beato viro divulgata disperserit, ad horum etiam paucorum comparationem, quae nunc breviter caraxare disponimus. Hinc, post hanc primam praefatiunculam [2], de nostri vocamine praesulis in exordio secundae, Deo auxiliante, intimare exordiar.

[b] IN NOMINE IESU CHRISTI SECUNDA PRAEFATIO.

VIR erat vitae venerabilis et beatae memoriae, monasteriorum [3] pater et fundator, cum Iona propheta homonymum

[a] C. D. F. S. craxata A. *octies in hac vita, quinquies praeterea in tractatu De Locis Sanctis, hacc forma, verisimiliter Adamnani propria, adhibetur. Stephanus Vitus, cuius apographo Codicis A. usi sunt Colganus et Bollandistae,* exarare *hic et alibi substituit;* volens, *ut ait Baertius,* plus quam oportebat sapere. [b] Incipit praefatio secunda C. F. S. Incipit secundus prologus D.

interest and curiosity, but in many cases with very slender knowledge (Reeves, 1857, 158 n.). We find in the Bangor 'Antiphonary' (A.D. 680–691), proto, 5 a, Alfa et ω, 11 r, agie, 12 r, agius, 15 v, pantes, ta erga, 15 v, zoen, 36 v. If we had more liturgical remains of the old national rite, we should probably find survivals of Greek similar to those still remaining in the Roman service-books, which are analogous to the Latin survivals in the English Prayer-book, and carry us back to times when Greek was the principal ecclesiastical language. It may here be mentioned that Greek, written phonetically in Roman letters, was used somewhat extensively in England as late as the eleventh century (*Archaeologia,* xlvi. 389, etc.).

[1] *caraxata*] Caraxare, to write (craxare in Cod. A. and in *De Locis Sanctis,* xraxare in the Irish Cod. Lat. Paris, 12021) is from χαράσσω, to scratch, denoting the action of the stylus on waxed tablets; it had been used by Latin writers as early as Prudentius. Colgan and the Bollandists have adopted Stephen White's improper substitution of *exarare.*

[2] *praefatiunculam*] On the frequent use of diminutives by Adamnan and other Irish writers, see above, in the conclusion of the Introduction.

[3] *monasteriorum*] The number is variously stated at sixty-six (Colgan), one hundred (Jocelin), and three hundred (O'Donnell).

sortitus nomen; nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum, unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc, quod Hebraice dicitur IONA[1], Graecitas vero [a] ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ[2] vocitat, et Latina lingua COLUMBA[3] nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum homini Dei non sine divina inditum providentia creditur. Nam et iuxta Evangeliorum fidem Spiritus Sanctus super Unigenitum aeterni Patris descendisse monstratur in forma illius aviculae quae columba dicitur: unde plerumque in sacrosanctis libris columba mystice Spiritum Sanctum significare dignoscitur. Proinde et Salvator in evangelio suo praecepit discipulis ut columbarum in corde puro insertam simplicitatem continerent; columba etenim simplex et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit qui in se columbinis moribus Spiritui Sancto hospitium praebuit: cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in Proverbiis scriptum est, *Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae*[4]. Hic igitur noster praesul non immerito, non solum [b] a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus, proprio ditatus est, sed etiam praemissis multorum cyclis annorum ante suae nativitatis diem cuidam Christi militi, Spiritu revelante Sancto, quasi filius repromissionis mirabili pro-

Significance of the name Columba.

[a] ΠΗΡΙCΤΗΡΑ A. F. S. ΝΗΠΙΟΤΗΤΑ peristera C. ΠΕΡΙCΤΗΡΑ Cott.
[b] adiebus A. *duo verba saepe in cod.* A. *cohaerent*[5].

[1] *Iona*] Heb. יוֹנָה, 1. a dove, 2. proper name 'Jonah.' Columbanus in the superscription of his epistle to Pope Boniface IV made a similar reference to his name in the same three languages. It no doubt helped to determine the erroneous form 'Iona,' as the name of the island 'Hy' or 'Y.'

[2] ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ] See the various readings. The confusion of long and short Greek vowels is common in Irish MSS. The reading of Cod. C. is probably an explanatory gloss ('gentleness') possibly a misunderstanding of the Greek capitals.

[3] *Columba*] On St. Columba's Irish names see above, in the Introduction (vi. § 1). There are more than 100 Irish saints called Colum, Colman, Columba, etc. mostly men, but in Continental hagiology Columba is a woman's name. Adamnan uses the forms Columba, Columbanus, Columbus, and Columb.

[4] *Melius est*, etc.] Prov. xxii. 1, Vulg.

[5] Such cohesion is common in MSS. of the date of Cod. A., and is a transition towards complete separation of all words.

phetatione nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus Brito[1], homo sanctus, sancti Patricii[2] episcopi discipulus, Maucteus nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit Patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis compertum habetur. 'In novissimis,' ait, 'sacculi temporibus filius nasciturus est, cuius nomen Columba per omnes insularum oceani provincias divulgabitur notum; novissimaque orbis tempora clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriolorum[3] agelluli unius sepisculae intervallo disterminabuntur[4]: homo valde Deo carus, et grandis coram ipso meriti.' Huius igitur nostri Columbae vitam et mores describens, in primis brevi sermonis textu, in quantum valuero, strictim comprehendam, et ante lectoris oculos sanctam eius conversationem pariter exponam. Sed et de miraculis[5] eius succincte quaedam, quasi legentibus avide praegustanda, ponam: quae tamen inferius, per tres divisa libros, plenius explicabuntur. Quorum Primus propheticas revelationes[6]; Secundus vero

St. Mochta's prophecy.

Contents of the work.

[1] *proselytus Brito*] A British stranger. St. Mochta of Lughmagh, or Louth, (Aug. 19) is described in his life as 'ortus ex Britannia,' hence his title *proselytus*. He is said to have styled himself in an epistle, 'peccator prespiter, sancti Patricii discipulus,' and to have died in 534 (*Annals of Ulster*). The word *proselytus* is used by St. Patrick in this sense both in his *Confession* and in his *Epistle on Coroticus*. According to a metrical account quoted in the mediaeval notes on the *Calendar of Oengus* (ed. Stokes, cxxxii) St. Mochta had 300 priests, 100 bishops, and 80 psalm-singing noble youths, who did no ploughing, reaping, kiln-drying, nor any work save only reading.

[2] *Patricii*] The only allusion made by Adamnan to St. Patrick.

[3] *monasteriolorum*] We can hardly attach any special meaning to the diminutives here. But see Glossary.

[4] *disterminabuntur*] This prophecy cannot be shewn to have been fulfilled.

[5] *de miraculis*] The *promissiuncula* referred to in the opening words of i. 1.

[6] *propheticas revelationes*] In later times many spurious prophecies, worthy to rank with those of Merlin and Mother Shipton, were attributed to St. Columba and to other saints, who may at first only have been called 'prophets' in the sense of preachers. The Irish have always been disposed to welcome such predictions (O'Curry, *Lect. on MS. Materials*, 382–434). Even the Norman knight John de Courcy, c. 1176, kept by him a book of St. Columcille's prophecies, although as they were written in Irish he could not read a word of them (Joyce, *Hist.* 272). On mediaeval prophecies,

divinas per ipsum virtutes effectas; Tertius angelicas apparitiones, [a] continebit, et quasdam super hominem Dei caelestis claritudinis manifestationes. Nemo itaque me de hoc tam praedicabili [1] viro aut mentitum aestimet, aut quasi quaedam dubia vel incerta scripturum: sed ea quae maiorum fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum congrua relatione narraturum, et sine ulla ambiguitate [b] caraxaturum sciat, et vel ex his quae ante nos inserta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his quae auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius sciscitantes, didicimus.

St. Columba's parentage, mission, and character.

[c] SANCTUS igitur [2] Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitalibus [3], patrem habens Fedilmithum filium Ferguso [4]; matrem Aethneam nomine, cuius pater Latine Filius Nauis dici potest, Scotica vero lingua [5] Mac Naue. Hic anno secundo post Culedrebinae bellum [6], aetatis vero suae xlii., de Scotia [7] ad Britanniam [8] pro Christo peregrinari

[a] contenebit A. [b] craxaturum A. exaraturum Colg. Boll. [c] Incipit liber primus de propheticis revelationibus C. S. Explicit secundus prologus in vita sancti Columbe abbatis et confessoris Incipit primus liber in vita sanctissimi Columbe abbatis et confessoris D.

see Döllinger's *Prophecies* (tr. by Dr. Plummer), and on one of the latest productions of this kind, Reeves, 1857, lxxx. 1874, xli.

[1] *praedicabili*] A favourite epithet with Adamnan, frequently applied to St. Columba, in i. 37 to his prophecies, and in *De Locis Sanctis* to Jerusalem, and to a *capsa*. Render, 'famous.'

[2] *Sanctus igitur*, etc.] Other early biographies begin in this manner after their prefaces, and Codd. C. D. F. S. make this the beginning of ch. i. So also Cummian.

[3] *nobilibus*, etc.] See Intr. vi. § 1, and the Genealogical Table.

[4] *Ferguso*] The regular form of the old Irish genitive, as in *Aido*, i. 10, etc.

[5] *Scotica*, etc.] In the Irish language. See note on *Scotia*.

[6] *Culedrebinae bellum*] The great battle of Cooladrummon, on which see Intr. vi. § 6.

[7] *Scotia*] Bede writes 'Venit de Hibernia . . . Columba Britanniam' (*H. E.* iii. 4) and Adamnan 'per totam nostram Scotiam, et . . . Britanniam' iii. 23. Many similar passages might be cited, yet the identity of Scotia with Hibernia was long disputed by North British writers. *Scotia*, an ancient name of Ireland, passed on to Alba or North Britain as a consequence of emigrations, as it has now passed on to Nova Scotia in the New World. Scotland had the name of Scotia Minor at first, while the parent country was called Scotia Major, or Vetus. This continued to about the eleventh century, when

volens[1], enavigavit. Qui et a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiae studiis integritatem corporis et animae puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens, quamvis in terra positus, caelestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus, per annos xxxiv.[2] insulanus miles conversatus. Nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi, incumberet. Ieiunationum quoque et vigiliarum indefessis laboribus sine ulla intermissione die noctuque ita occupatus, ut supra humanam possibilitatem uniuscuiusque pondus specialis videretur operis. Et inter haec omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens sanctam, Spiritus Sancti gaudio intimis laetificabatur praecordiis.

Ireland returned to the other native name Eire, whence 'Eireland,' and 'Scotia' gradually came to be used of North Britain only. 'Erin' is really the dative of Eriu, an earlier form of Eire.

[6] *Britanniam*] Britain regarded as one. In earlier writings, e. g. the *Confession of St. Patrick*, the plural *Britanniae* is used, denoting the Roman provinces of what is now Great Britain, which varied in number at different times; in the fourth century there were five. The plural form has been used on our coins since 1817, meaning 'of the British Isles,' including Ireland. It does not occur on Roman coins.

[1] *peregrinari volens*] This passage possibly gives the true or at any rate the chief reason of St. Columba's leaving Ireland. On some alleged reasons, see above, Intr. vi. § 6.

[2] *per annos* xxxiv] Bede says 'circiter triginta et duos' (*H. E.* iii. 4), but Adamnan makes the number amount to 34 again in iii. 22.

NUNC PRIMI LIBRI CAPITULATIONES[1] ORDIUNTUR.

De virtutum miraculis brevis narratio. (I.)
De sancto Finteno abbate, Tailchani filio, quomodo de ipso sanctus Columba prophetavit. (II.)
De Erneneo, filio Craseni, prophetia eius. (III.)
De adventu Cainnichi quomodo praenuntiavit. (IV.)
De periculo sancti Colmani gente Mocusailni sancto Columbae revelato. (V.)
De Cormaco nepote Letha prophetationes eius. (VI.)
De bellis. (VII, VIII.)
De regibus. (IX–XV.)
De duobus pueris secundum verbum eius in fine septimanae mortuis. (XVI.)
De Colcio filio Aido Draigniche, et de quodam occulto matris ipsius peccato. (XVII.)
De signo mortis eiusdem viri prophetia sancti Columbae. (XVII[2].)
De Laisrano hortulano. (XVIII.)
De ceto magno quomodo prophetavit. (XIX.)
De quodam Baitano, qui cum caeteris ad maritimum remigavit desertum. (XX.)

[1] *Capitulationes*] These headings appear to be genuine though independent portions of the original work. They do not quite correspond with those of the chapters as we have them (see the numbers appended and notes thereon), and they contain some different forms of names and words, in one instance supplying a proper name not elsewhere mentioned. The Bollandists and some codices omit them, so that the words *supra memorata*, and the like, in their texts, have no meaning.

[2] This and the preceding title both belong to ch. 17.

De quodam Nemano ficto poenitente, qui postea secundum verbum sancti carnem equae furtivae comedit. (XXI.)
De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genitrice peccavit. (XXII.)
De I vocali littera quae una in Psalterio defuit. (XXIII.)
De libro in hydriam [1] cadente. (XXIV.)
De corniculo atramenti inclinato. (XXV.)
De adventu alicuius Aidani qui ieiunium solvit. (XXVI.)
De aliquo misero viro, qui ad fretum clamitabat, mox moriturо. (XXVII.)
De civitate Romanae partis, super quam ignis de coelo cecidit. (XXVIII.)
De Laisrano filio Feradaig, quomodo monachos probavit in labore. (XXIX.)
De Fechno [a] Binc. (XXX.)
De Cailtano monacho. (XXXI.)
De duobus peregrinis. (XXXII.)
De Artbranano sene, quem in Scia insula baptizavit. (XXXIII.)
De naviculae transmotatione iuxta stagnum Loch-diae [2]. (XXXIV.)
De Gallano filio Fachtni quem daemones rapuere. (XXXV.)
De Lugidio Claudo. (XXXVIII [3].)
De Enano filio Gruth [4]. (XXXIX.)
De presbitero qui erat in Triota. (XL.)
De Erco furunculo [5]. (XLI.)
De Cronano poeta. (XLII.)
De Ronano filio Aido filii Colcen, et Colmano Cane filio Aileni, prophetia Sancti. (XLIII [6].)

[a] *obscure* A.

[1] *hydriam*] 'Aquarium vas' in ch. 24.

[2] *Loch-diae*] Not mentioned by name in ch. 34. The *Annals of Ulster* s. a. 728 mention *stagnum Loogdae*, but it has not been identified.

[3] Chapters 36 and 37 are not mentioned here.

[4] *Enano filio Gruth*] 'Nemano filio Gruthriche' in ch. 39.

[5] *furunculo*] In ch. 41 he is called *fur*, and *valde furax*. In classical Latin *furunculus* is a petty thief, a pilferer; thus Cicero speaks of one who was 'olim furunculus, nunc etiam rapax' (*In Pisonem*, 27. 66). Here the diminutive has no force.

[6] Chapters 44–50 are not mentioned here.

INCIPIT PRIMI LIBRI TEXTUS,

DE PROPHETICIS REVELATIONIBUS

CAP. I.

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS BREVIS NARRATIO [1].

Summary of St. Columba's miracles.

Vir itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit, in huius libelli primordiis, secundum nostram praemissam superius promissiunculam [2], breviter sunt demonstranda. Diversorum namque infestationes morborum homines, in nomine Domini Iesu Christi, virtute orationum, perpessos sanavit [3]: daemonumque [4] infestas, ipse unus homo, et innumeras contra se belligerantes catervas, oculis corporalibus visas, et incipientes mortiferos super eius coenobialem coetum inferre morbos, hac nostra de insula [5] retrotrusas primaria [6], Deo auxiliante, repulit [7]. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem, partim mortificatione, partim forti repulsione, Christo adiu-

[1] Cap. I] This chapter may be regarded as a third preface; it is wanting in all the MSS. except A. (B. is imperfect here), and its genuineness has been questioned, probably on insufficient grounds.

[2] *promissiunculam*] See above, in Pref. 2, p. 4.

[3] *sanavit*] See ii. 4, 5, 6, 18, 30, 31, 33, 40, 46.

[4] *daemonum*] See ii. 11, 16, 17; iii. 8, 13.

[5] *nostra de insula*] So in ch. 30, 'nostro huic monasterio,' and in ch. 37, 'nostrum monasterium,' confirming the opinion that this Life was written in Iona, and not, as has been thought, in Ireland. See Intr. viii. § 10.

[6] *primaria*] Bede thus refers to the primacy of Iona: 'In quibus omnibus idem monasterium insulanum, in quo ipse requiescit corpore, principatum teneret,' *H. E.* iii. 4.

[7] *repulit*] See iii. 8.

vante compescuit[1]. Tumores quoque fluctuum, instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium, ipso ocius orante, sedati humiliatique sunt[2]; navisque ipsius, in qua et ipse casu navigabat, tunc temporis, facta tranquillitate, portum appulsa est optatum. In regione Pictorum[3] aliquantis diebus manens, inde reversus ut magos[4] confunderet, contra flatus contrarios venti erexit velum, et ita veloci cursu eius navicula enatans festinabat, ac si secundum habuisset ventum[5]. Aliis quoque temporibus, venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos, ipso orante, conversi sunt[6]. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit, quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates[7]: qui lapis, contra naturam, in aqua intinctus, quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram Brudeo rege[8], et familiaribus eius, factum est. In eadem itidem provincia, cuiusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit[9], quod est maioris miraculi, vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus iuvenis diaconus, in Hibernia[10] apud Findbarrum[11] sanctum episcopum commanens, cum

[1] *compescuit*] See ii. 26, 27.

[2] *humiliati sunt*] See ii. 12, 13.

[3] *Pictorum*] The *Picti* were properly the Picts or Caledonians, who dwelt in the northern parts of what is now called Scotland. But there were also the Cruithne or 'Irish Picts,' who inhabited the southern half of Antrim and the greater part of Down.

[4] *magos*] The term *Magi*, Druids, is used in Acts of Irish Saints as equivalent to *Draoithe*, *Druidh*, as *Draoithe* is of the 'Magi' in St. Matt. ii. 1, and *Druith* of Jannes and Jambres in 2 Tim. iii. 8.

[5] *ventum*] See ii. 34.

[6] *conversi sunt*] See i. 4; ii. 15, 42, 45.

[7] *sanitates*] See ii. 33.

[8] *Brudeo rege*] Brude, son of Maelcon, king of the Picts, c. 554 to 584; mentioned also in i. 37; ii. 33, 35, 42.

[9] *suscitavit*] See ii. 32.

[10] *Hibernia*] The oldest extant form of the native name is Eriu, supposed to be from a still older native name Iberiu, through an intermediate Ieriu. Hiberio is the Latin form used in St. Patrick's writings. The 'Hybernia' of Pliny and 'Hibernia' of Solinus may be due to the transcribers. Bede uses 'Hibernia.' See note on *Scotia*, p. 5, and Joyce, ii. 458.

[11] *Findbarrum*] Finbarr, Finnio, Finnian, or Vinnian, a bishop at Maghbile or Moville, in Down, St. Columba's former instructor of the same name, not to be confounded with the other Finnian of Cluain-Eraird, now Clonard in Meath. He died Sept. 10 (his day), 579. 'Finnian' is formed from dim. of *finn*, white, Findbarr from *finn barr*, white head. Intr. v. § 5.

ad sacrosancta mysteria necessarium defuisset vinum, virtute orationis, aquam puram in verum vertit vinum [1]. Sed et caelestis ingens claritudinis lumen, et in noctis tenebris, et in luce diei, super eum, aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus, diversis et separatis vicibus, apparuit effusum [2]. Sanctorum quoque angelorum dulces et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit [3]. Quorumdam iustorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa caelorum vehi, Sancto revelante Spiritu, videbat [4]. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a daemonibus ferri saepenumero aspiciebat [5]. Plurimorum in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque praenuntiabat merita, aliorum laeta [6], aliorum tristia [7]. In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a Deo virtute orationum impetravit, ut alii reges victi, et alii regnatores efficerentur victores [8]. Hoc tale privilegium non tantum in hac praesenti vita conversanti, sed etiam post eius de carne transitum [9], quasi cuidam victoriali et fortissimo propugnatori, a Deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore. Huius talis honorificentiae viro honorabili ab Omnipotente caelitus collatae etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod Ossualdo [10] regnatori Saxonico [11], pridie quam contra Catlonem [12] Britonum regem fortissimum praeliaretur, ostensum erat. Nam

St. Oswald's vision.

[1] *vinum*] See ii. 1. Bede relates how water was thought to taste like wine after St. Cuthbert had blessed it and drank a little of it. *Vit. S Cuthb.* 35.

[2] *effusum*] See iii. 17–21.

[3] *meruit*] See iii. *passim.*

[4] *videbat*] See iii. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

[5] *aspiciebat*] See i. 35, 39; ii. 23, 25.

[6] *laeta*] See i. 3, 10, 11, 31, 46; ii. 39.

[7] *tristia*] See i. 16, 21, 22, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 47; ii. 22.

[8] *victi, victores*] See i. 7, 8, 12.

[9] *de carne transitum*] See ii. 45, 46.

[10] *Ossualdo*] St. Oswald was king of Northumbria, 635–642.

[11] *Saxonico*] See note on *Saxonia*, below, p. 12.

[12] *Catlonem*] Cadwalla, king of the Strathclyde Welsh. A Christian in name, but a heathen in life and conduct (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20). After a long struggle against the Saxon domination, he allied himself in 633 with Penda king of Mercia and slew King Edwin in battle at Hatfield in Yorkshire. In 634 he slew Osric king of Deira, and in 635 Eanfrid king of Bernicia. Proceeding to harry Northumberland, he was slain in battle with King Oswald at Denisesburn in the same year (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20; iii. 1).

cum idem Ossualdus rex esset *in procinctu belli*[1] *castra*
Cummian, XXV. *metatus*, quadam die *in suo papilione*[2] *supra pullum dormiens*, sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma coruscantem angelica; cuius alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste; et haec confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quae Dominus ad Iesue Ben Nun ante transitum Iordanis, mortuo Moyse, prolocutus est, dicens: *Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero tecum*[3] etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, haec ad regem in visu loquens, addit: 'Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede; hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris, et feliciter regnes.' Post haec verba experrectus rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum: nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia[4] gentilitatis[5] et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris, qui cum eo Scotos inter exulante baptizati sunt. Quid plura? eadem subsecuta nocte Ossualdus rex, sicuti in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum, cum admodum pauciore exercitu, contra millia numerosa progreditur; cui a Domino, sicut ei promissum

[1] *belli*] The reference is to the battle of Denises-burn, supposed to be the same as Devil's Water, a stream which falls into the Tyne at Dilston, formerly Devilston, in Northumberland. Bede *H. E.* iii. 1, 2) gives some interesting particulars respecting this battle, but does not refer to the appearing of St. Columba. In the *Historia de S. Cuthberto* written by a nameless monk of Durham early in the twelfth century, is a very similar story of St. Cuthbert's appearing to King Alfred before the battle of 'Assandun' to encourage him for the conflict.

[2] *papilione*] Pavilion, Irish *pupall.*

[3] *tecum*, etc.] Founded on Josh. i. 5, 18, Vulg.

[4] *Saxonia*] A name given by Adamnan, as by some other writers, to England in general; in iii. 10, 22, he uses *Saxo* (cp. p. 11, n.). The Irish still speak of an Englishman as 'the Saxon.'

[5] *gentilitatis*] Of heathenism.

est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et, rege trucidato Catlone, victor post bellum reversus, postea totius Britanniae imperator[1] a Deo ordinatus est. Hanc mihi[2] Adamnano[3] narrationem meus decessor, noster abbas Failbeus[4], indubitanter enarravit, qui se ab ore ipsius Ossualdi regis, Segineo[5] abbati eamdem enuntiantis visionem, audisse protestatus est.

Sed et hoc etiam non praetereundum videtur, quod eiusdem beati viri per quaedam Scoticae linguae laudum ipsius carmina[6], et nominis commemorationem, quidam, quamlibet scelerati laicae conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem decantaverant cantica, de manibus inimicorum qui eamdem eorumdem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati; qui flammas inter et gladios et lanceas incolumes evasere, mirumque in modum pauci ex ipsis, qui easdem sancti viri commemorationes, quasi parvi pendentes, canere noluerant decantationes, in illo aemulorum impetu soli disperierant. Huius miraculi testes non duo aut tres, iuxta legem[7], sed etiam centeni, et eo amplius, adhiberi potuere. Non tantum in uno, aut loco, aut tempore, hoc idem contigisse comprobatur, sed etiam diversis locis et temporibus in Scotia et in Britannia, simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis, factum fuisse, sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Haec ab expertis uniuscuiusque regionis, ubicumque res eadem simili contigit miraculo, indubitanter didicimus.

The virtues of Irish poems in praise of St. Columba.

[1] *imperator*] The Bretwalda.

[2] *Hanc mihi*] Note the way in which Adamnan obtained his information, cp. note on *didicimus*, iii. 23. Cadwalla was slain in 635, when Adamnan was about eleven years old. The author speaks again of himself in the first person in this chapter and in 2, 3, 49; ii. 45, 46; iii. 19, 23.

[3] *Adamnano*] The name is an Irish diminutive of Adam. See Intr. viii. § 8.

[4] *Failbeus*] Failbhe, eighth abbot of Iona, 669–679. *Ob.* Mar. 22. See Intr. viii. § 7.

[5] *Segineo*] Segineus or Seghine was fifth abbot, 623–652. *Ob.* Aug. 12. Intr. viii. § 4.

[6] *carmina*] Adamnan is probably referring to the *Amhra Choluimcille* or *Laudes S. Columbae*, referred to in Intr. i. § 8, and vii. § 4. Great and supernatural benefits were believed to be obtained by the recital of this and other highly venerated poems, as for example, the *Lorica* of St. Patrick, the *Altus* of Columcille, the Calendar of Oengus, and a 'Corslet' ascribed to St. Gildas.

[7] *legem*] Deut. xvii. 6, and reff.

His gifts of prophecy, and of distant vision.

Sed, ut ad propositum redeamus, inter ea miracula quae idem vir Domini, in carne mortali conversans, Deo donante, perfecerat, ab annis iuvenilibus coepit etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, ventura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare; quia quamvis absens corpore, praesens tamen spiritu, longe acta pervidere poterat. Nam, iuxta Pauli vocem, *Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est*[1]. Unde et idem vir Domini sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus, de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus, non negavit, in aliquantis dialis gratiae speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.

Haec de sancti viri hic ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus, ut avidior lector breviter perscripta, quasi dulciores quasdam praegustet dapes: quae tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris, Domino auxiliante, enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur, beati viri, licet praepostero ordine, prophetationes effari, quas de sanctis quibusdam et illustribus viris, diversis prolocutus est temporibus.

CAP. II.

DE SANCTO FINTENO, ABBATE, FILIO TAILCHANI.

St. Fintan goes to Iona.

Sanctus Fintenus[2], qui postea per universas Scotorum ecclesias valde noscibilis habitus est, a puerili aetate integritatem carnis et animae, Deo adiuvante, custodiens, studiis dialis sophias[3] de-

[1] *Qui adhaeret*] 1 Cor. vi. 17, Vulg.

[2] *Fintenus*] 'Gente Mocumoie' *infra*; St. Fintan, Munna, Munde, or Mundus (Oct. 21). According to Adamnan and other early authorities he came to be a monk at Iona just too late for St. Columba to receive him (c. 597), but the Aberdeen Breviary represents him as entering during St. Columba's life. At the synod of Campus Albus he upheld the Irish Easter against St. Laisre of Leighlin, who nevertheless paid the highest possible tribute to his sanctity. *Ob.* Oct. 19, 635, probably buried on the third day, Oct. 21. Abbot in Argyle?

[3] *dialis sophias*] Of Divine wisdom. *Dialis* is used by classical as

ditus, hoc propositum, in annis iuventutis conversatus, in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam, Hiberniam deserens, peregrinaturus adiret. Eodem aestuans desiderio, ad quemdam vadit seniorem sibi amicum, in sua gente prudentissimum venerandumque clericum, qui Scotice vocitabatur Columb Crag[1], ut ab eo, quasi prudente, aliquod audiret consilium. Cui cum suos tales denudaret cogitatus, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: 'Tuum, ut aestimo, a Deo inspiratum devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad sanctum Columbam transnavigare debeas?' Eadem hora casu duo adveniunt monachi sancti Columbae, qui de sua interrogati ambulatione, 'Nuper,' aiunt, 'de Britannia remigantes, hodie a Roboreto Calgachi[2] venimus.' 'Sospes anne est,' ait Columb Crag, 'vester Columba sanctus pater?' Qui valde illacrymati, cum magno dixerunt maerore, 'Vere salvus est noster ille patronus, qui his diebus nuper ad Christum commigravit.' Quibus auditis, Fintenus et Columb et omnes qui ibidem inerant, prostratis in terram vultibus, amare flevere. Fintenus consequenter percunctatur dicens: 'Quem post se successorem reliquit?' 'Baitheneum'[3], aiunt, 'suum alumnum'[3]. Omnibusque clamitantibus, 'Dignum et debitum;' Columb ad Fintenum inquit: 'Quid ad haec, Fintene, facies?' Qui respondens ait: 'Si Dominus permiserit, ad Baithenenm virum sanctum et sapientem enavi-

well as by later writers, e.g. in the title *Flamen Dialis*. *Sophias* is an unaltered Greek word. In *dialis* we have a curious transference of a word originally used with reference to a Greek or Roman deity, to the God of Christian theology. We find *dialis* in St. Columba's hymn *Altus Prosator*, 'Magni Dei virtutibus appenditur dialibus.'

[1] *Columb Crag*] Colgan conjectures that he may have been Colum, priest of Eanach (Enagh), near Derry; Sept. 22 in calendar.

[2] *Roboreto Calgachi*] Daire-Calgaich (the oak-wood of Calgach). The old Pagan name of Derry, which in the tenth or eleventh centuries was superseded by Daire Coluimcille (*Four Masters* s. a. 950). This name continued till the time of James I, whose charter to a company of London merchants imposed the name Londonderry. Calgach is the Galgacus of Tacitus (*Agricola*, c. 29), and is an Irish name found elsewhere, originally an adj. from *calg*, 'sward,' or 'thorn,' denoting 'sharp' or 'angry'; hence, as a proper name, 'fierce warrior.'

[3] *Baitheneum . . . alumnum*] Intr. viii. § 1.

gabo et, si me susceperit, ipsum abbatem habebo.' Tum deinde supra memoratum Columb osculatus, et ei valedicens, navigationem praeparat, et sine morula ulla transnavigans, Iouam devenit insulam[1]. Et necdum, in id temporis usque, nomen eius in his locis erat notum. Unde et imprimis, quasi quidam ignotus hospes hospitaliter susceptus, alia die nuncium ad Baitheneum mittit, eius allocutionem facie ad faciem habere volens. Qui, ut erat affabilis, et peregrinis appetibilis, iubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus, primo, ut conveniebat, flexis genibus in terra se prostravit; iussusque a sancto seniore, surgit, et residens interrogatur a Baitheneo, adhuc inscio, de gente et provincia, nomineque et conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui, ita interrogatus, omnia per ordinem enarrans, ut susciperetur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior, his ab hospite auditis, simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba prophetice vaticinatus est, 'Gratias,' ait, 'Deo meo agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu, fili; sed hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris.' Hoc audiens hospes, valde contristatus, infit: 'Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus.' Senior consequenter inquit: 'Non quod, ut dicis, indignus esses hoc dixi; sed quamvis maluissem te apud me retinere, mandatum tamen sancti Columbae mei decessoris profanare non possum; per quem Spiritus Sanctus de te prophetavit. Alia namque die mihi soli seorsim, sic prophetico profatus ore, inter cetera, dixit:—Haec mea, O Baithenee, intentius debes audire verba; statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum saeculo expectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de Scotia frater, qui nunc, bene iuvenilem bonis moribus regens aetatem, sacrae lectionis studiis satis imbuitur, nomine

Is received by St. Baithene,

who relates St. Columba's prophecy concerning him,

[1] *Iouam insulam*] The island of Iou, Y, Hy, or Iona. See Intr. vii. § 2, and note on the forms of the name.

Fintenus, gente Mocumoie[1], cuius pater Tailchanus[2] vocitatur, ad te, inquam, perveniens, humiliter expostulabit ut ipsum suscipiens inter ceteros adnumeres monachos. Sed hoc ei in Dei praescientia praedestinatum non est ut ipse alicuius abbatis monachus fieret; sed ut monachorum abbas, et animarum dux ad caeleste regnum, olim electus a Deo est. Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud te retinere insulis, ne et Dei voluntati contraire videaris: sed, haec ei intimans verba, ad Scotiam in pace remittas, ut in Laginensium[3] vicinis mari finibus monasterium construat, et ibidem Christi ovinum pascens gregem, innumeras ad patriam animas caelestem perducat.' Haec audiens sanctus iunior,

whereupon he returns to Ireland.

[1] *Mocumoie*] A clan-name, probably Mac-Ua-Maan, *filius nepotis Maan.* 'Mac' is *son*, 'Ua' *grandson*, later, *descendant*, now O'. The plural is 'Ui,' (Hy), *descendants*, as in 'Hy-Neill,' etc.

[2] *Tailchanus*] Tulchan, mentioned as father of St. Fintan or Munna in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 452 iv, 606 *b*, n. 3; *Tr. Th.* 373 *b*, n. 23, 483 *a*, 50.

[3] *Laginensium*] The Laginenses or Lagini were the men of Leinster. The derivations of the names of the Irish provinces are thus given (after Worsaae) by Joyce, vol. i. p. 113. 'The termination *ster* in the names of three of the provinces is the Scandinavian *stadr*, a place, which has been added to the old Irish names. Leinster is the *place* (or province) of *Laighen* or *Layn;* Ulster is contracted from *Ula-ster*, the Irish name *Uladh* being pronounced *Ulla;* and Munster from *Moon-ster*, or *Mounster* (which is the form found in a State Paper of 1515), the first syllable representing the pronunciation of the Irish *Mumhan.*' For the derivation of *Connaught* see note on lib. ii. cap. 39. According to early Irish legends, which may preserve some facts of history, the island was divided, c. A.M. 3266, by five Firbolg brothers into five provinces answering to the present four, the present Munster then forming two, but in the second century Tuathal king of Ireland formed the province of Midi or Meath by cutting off a portion of each of the adjoining provinces round the hill of Ushnagh in Westmeath, where the point of junction was marked by a large stone called *Ail na mireann* (stone of the portions) and by Giraldus *umbilicus Hiberniae.* According to Keating, the nucleus of this new province was a small territory that had been assigned to one Midhe, a Druid, and he gives this as one reason for its name, together with another derivation from Meidhe, neck, as if it were the neck of each province. (Keating, ed. 1809, i. 12; Reeves, 1857, 207 n.; Joyce, *Hist.* p. 60). Each of the five provinces had a sub-king, hence the Irish Pentarchy, under the Ard-ri or high-king of all Ireland and his deputy. In recent times Meath has disappeared as a province; it anciently included the present counties of Meath and Westmeath, with parts of the adjacent counties. Cp. Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 192 n., O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 10.

Christo, lacrymas fundens, agit gratias, inquiens: 'Secundum sancti Columbae propheticam fiat mihi et mirabilem praescientiam.' Iisdemque diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans, et a Baitheneo accipiens benedictionem, in pace ad Scotiam transnavigat[1].

Haec mihi quodam narrante religioso sene presbytero, Christi milite, Oisseneo[2] nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu Neth Corb[3], indubitanter didici: qui se eadem supra memorata verba eiusdem ab ore sancti Finteni, filii Tailchani, audisse testatus est, ipsius monachus[4].

CAP. III.

DE ERNENEO FILIO CRASENI SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus, in mediterranea Hiberniae parte[5] monasterium, quod Scoticè dicitur Dair-mag[6], divino fundans nutu, per aliquot demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in Clonoensi[7] sancti Cerani[8] coenobio commanebant. Auditoque eius accessu, universi undique ab agellulis[9] monasterio vicinis cum his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum[10], sancto Columbae, quasi angelo Domini, obviam, egressi

St. Columba's reception at Clonmacnoise.

[1] *transnavigat*] The story is told in the Life of St. Fintan much in the same way. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 461 *a*.

[2] *Oisseneo*] Possibly an abbot of Clonard, who died 654.

[3] *Mocu Neth Corb*] Of the clan *Ui-Niadh-corb*.

[4] *Haec mihi—monachus*] Compare end of ch. 1, first paragraph, p. 13, and see note. The present passage is wanting in Codd. C.F.S.

[5] *mediterranea Hiberniae parte*] Here and in iii. 9, the neighbourhood of Athlone, which is almost exactly in the centre of Ireland. Cod. D. here supplies *midi* (Meath), in Latin Media, 'quia in medio est insulae sita' (Giraldus, p. 144). But see above, note on *Laginensium*, p. 17.

[6] *Dair-mag*] Irish *Dar magh* or *Dear magh*, now Durrow. Bede mentions it as '*Dearmach* lingua Scottorum, hoc est, Campus roborum.' (*H. E.* iii. 4.) Elsewhere Adamnan uses Latin equivalents: see Index, s.v. *Roboreti*.

[7] *Clonoensi*, etc.] Clonmacnoise, founded 548.

[8] *Cerani*] St. Ciaran was the founder. See Intr. v. § 6.

[9] *ab agellulis*] Many of the monks appear to have been at work in the fields. Cp. Warren, p. 22.

[10] *Alitherum*] Alitherus was fourth abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died in 599.

vallum[1] monasterii, unanimes pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso, cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est; hymnisque et laudibus resonantes, honorifice ad ecclesiam perducunt; quamdamque de lignis pyramidem[2] erga sanctum deambulantem constringentes, a quatuor viris aeque ambulantibus supportari fecerunt: ne videlicet *sanctus* senior Columba eiusdem *fratrum* multitudinis *constipatione molestaretur*. Eadem hora *quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu, puer* familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, *retro,* in quantum valuit se occultans, *accessit, ut* videlicet *vel illius* [a] *amphibali*[3] *fimbriam, quo* vir beatus induebatur, occulte, et si fieri possit *ipso nesciente* et non sentiente, *tangeret*[4]. Sed hoc *tamen Sanctum non latuit, nam* quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non potuit, spiritalibus perspexit. Unde subito restitit, et *post se extendens manum, cervicem pueri* tenet, ipsumque trahens ante faciem suam statuit. Omnibusque qui ibidem circumstabant dicentibus, 'Dimitte, dimitte, quare hunc infelicem et iniuriosum retines puerum?' *Sanctus* e contra

Cummian, XXVII.

The poor boy who touched the hem of his garment,

[a] anfibali A. F.: *sic* anfibalo *Lib. Armacan. fol.* 209 *a b.*

[1] *vallum*] The cashel or outer defence. Intr. iv. § 2.

[2] *pyramidem*] The word *Pyramis* is used in one passage quoted by Ducange, of the Ciborium or Altar-canopy; in *De Locis Sanctis* ii. 4, 7, of the tombs of David and of Rachel, and in *Acta SS. Boll. Apr.* ii. 385 *a*, of an enclosing wall or fence round a building. Here it seems to mean a square barrier or perhaps a canopy. These later senses seem to have arisen out of the original sense by gradual extension. The Greek *πυραμὶς* is supposed to be a loan-word from Egypt.

[3] *amphibali*] A kind of cowl or outer garment, the same as *birrhus* and *caracalla*. In the Gallican church it was some kind of chasuble (Ducange). Either from *ἀμφίβολος* as if 'wrapper,' or *ἀμφίμαλλος*, 'woolly on both sides,' which latter is favoured by the Latin forms *Amphimallus* and *Heteromala*, on which see Ducange. The woolly 'Irish cloak,' or shagrug, still in use in the sixteenth century, 'sheltered alike from heat and cold.' (Derricke, ed. 1883. Intr. p. ix., Desc. of Plates I, IV.) It was probably the lineal descendant of the old Irish woolly *casaïl* or 'chasuble' (Intr. iv. § 5). The legend of the imaginary 'St. Amphibalus,' who had a shrine at St. Albans, and whose dust was venerated at Durham, is supposed to have arisen out of the cloak (amphibalus) mentioned in the fabulous Acts of St. Alban.

[4] *tangeret*] Cp. ii. 6, and St. Matt. ix. 20 and xiv. 36.

haec puro pectore verba depromit prophetica, 'Sinite, fratres, sinite modo.' Ad puerum vero valde tremefactum dicit, 'O fili, *aperi os, et porrige linguam.*' Iussus tum puer, cum ingenti tremore aperiens os, linguam porrexit; quam *Sanctus*, sanctam extendens manum, diligenter benedicens, ita prophetice profatur, dicens, '*Hic puer* quamvis *vobis nunc despicabilis* et valde vilis videatur, nemo tamen ipsum ob id despiciat. *Ab hac* enim *hora* non solum vobis non displicebit, sed valde placebit; *bonis*que *moribus*, et animae virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet: *sapientia* quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die adaugebitur, et in hac vestra congregatione grandis est futurus profectus; lingua quoque eius salubri et doctrina et *eloquentia* a Deo donabitur.' Hic erat Erneneus[1], filius Craseni, postea per omnes Scotiae ecclesias famosus et valde notissimus; qui haec omnia suprascripta verba Segineo abbati de se prophetata enarraverat, meo decessore Failbeo intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum Segineo praesens inerat; cuius revelatione[2] et ego ipse cognovi haec eadem quae enarravi. Sed et multa alia iisdem diebus quibus in Clonoensi coenobio Sanctus hospitabatur, revelante prophetavit Sancto Spiritu; hoc est, de illa, quae post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiae ecclesias, discordia[3]: et de quibusdam angelicis frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quaedam intra eiusdem coenobii septa ab angelis tunc temporis frequentabantur loca.

afterwards a famous Irish saint.

[1] *Erneneus, fil. Craseni*] St. Ernene, Ernin, or Mernocc, whose day in the Irish calendar is Aug. 18, in the Aberdeen Breviary, Oct. 25; *ob.* 635. His name is preserved in the two Kilmarnocks and in Inchmarnoc, and the form Mernoc is a contraction of *Mo-Ernin-occ*, the prefix 'my' and suffix 'little' expressing affectionate familiarity.

[2] *cuius revelatione*] Compare pp. 13, n. 2, and 18, n. 4.

[3] *discordia*] As to the Easter controversies, see Introd. iv. § 11.

CAP. IV.

DE ADVENTU SANCTI CAINNECHI, ABBATIS, DE QUO SANCTUS COLUMBA PROPHETALITER PRAENUNTIAVIT.

A calm in a tempest for the voyage of St. Cainnech.

Alio in tempore cum in Ioua insula, die fragosae tempestatis et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis, sedens in domo Sanctus et fratribus praecipiens diceret, 'Praeparate ocius hospitium, aquamque ad lavandos hospitum pedes exhaurite;' quidam ex ipsis frater consequenter, 'Quis,' ait, 'hac die valde ventosa et nimis periculosa, licet breve[1], fretum prospere transnavigare potest?' Quo audito Sanctus sic profatur: 'Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui ad nos ante vesperam perveniet, Omnipotens tranquillitatem, quamlibet in tempestate, donavit.' Et ecce, eadem die aliquamdiu a fratribus expectata navis in qua sanctus inerat Cainnechus[2] iuxta Sancti prophetationem pervenit. Cui Sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice et hospitaliter susceptus est. Illi vero nautae qui cum Cainnecho inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter, Deo donante, in eodem mari, et iisdem horis, mirabili [a] divisione[3] praedixerat; et tempestatem eminus visam non sensisse professi sunt[4].

CAP. V.

DE PERICULO SANCTI COLMANI EPISCOPI, MOCUSAILNI, IN MARI IUXTA INSULAM QUAE VOCITATUR RECHRU[5].

Alia itidem die sanctus Columba, in sua commanens matrice ecclesia, repente in hanc subridens erupit vocem,

[a] A. B. C. F. S. visione *syllaba prima erasa* D.

[1] *breve*] The Sound is one English mile across.

[2] *Cainnechus*] Surnamed Mocu Dalon (Mac Ua Dalann), St. Cainnech, from whom the two Kilkennys derive their name; born 517, died 600; founder of Aghaboe; in Scotland called Kenneth. His day is Oct. 11.

[3] *divisione*] The more likely as being the less obvious reading. The reference is to the tempest and the calm just mentioned.

[4] *professi sunt*] The same account is given in the Brussels Life of St. Cainnech, quoted in Reeves's note (ed. 1857).

[5] *Rechru*] The L-shaped rocky

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dicens: 'Columbanus, filius Beognai[1], ad nos transnavigare incipiens, nunc in undosis Charybdis Brecani[2] aestibus valde periclitatur; ambasque ad caelum, in prora sedens, palmas elevat; turbatum quoque et tam formidabile pelagus benedicit: quem tamen Dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio, in qua ipse residet, undis obruatur; sed potius ad orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos, Deo propitio, post transvadatum perveniat periculum.'

St. Columba sees a storm at a distance.

CAP. VI.

DE CORMACO.

Alio quoque in tempore de Cormaco[3], nepote Lethani[4], viro utique sancto, qui tribus non minus vicibus eremum[5] in oceano laboriose quaesivit, nec tamen invenit, sanctus Columba ita prophetizans ait: 'Hodie iterum Cormacus, desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit ab illa regione quae, ultra Modam[6] fluvium sita, Eirros Domno[7] dicitur; nec

He sees Cormac failing to find a desert island.

island now called Rathlin, about three miles off Fair Head, on the N.E. coast of Ireland, called *Rechrea* in ii. 41. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 288.

[1] *Columbanus, fil. Beognai*] In title Colmanus Mocusailni, Colman Ela Mac Ui Seilli, sometimes called Colmanellus, or Columbanus, as in the text. Son of Beogna, born in Tyrone 555, d. 611; day Sept. 26. A presbyter (ii. 15 and Life) but in heading of i. 5, called *episcopus*, seemingly by mistake. Patron of Kilcolmonell and Colmonell.

[2] *Charybdis Brecani*] Coire Brecain, 'Brecan's Cauldron,' a whirlpool in the channel between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin. Named from a tradition that Brecan, grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was engulfed in it. Since Adamnan's day the name has been shifted to Corryvrechan, the tumultuous strait between Scarba and Jura, N.B. See O'Curry, *Lect. MS. Materials*, 257, Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 289, and Joyce, ii. 432.

[3] *Cormaco*] Cormac was abbot of Durrow, also a bishop and anchorite, styled 'Cormac Ua Liathain of the sea;' he is referred to in connexion with St. Columba in two ancient Irish poems. It is not known what monastery he founded. (See iii. 17.)

[4] *nepote Lethani*] Ua Liathain, a clan-name.

[5] *eremum*] See i. 20; ii. 42; Reeves, 1857, p. 366; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.* 179 n.

[6] *Modam*] The river *Moda* or Moy, in Sligo; Irish *Muaidhe*.

[7] *Eirros Domno*] In Irish *Iorrus Domhnann*, Erris of the *Damnonii*, supposed to be a section of the Firbolgs. Now Erris in Mayo. *Iorrus* or *Irrus* = promontory.

tamen etiam hac vice quod quaerit inveniet; et non ob aliam eius culpam nisi quod alicuius religiosi abbatis monachum, ipso non permittente[1], discessorem secum non recte comitari, navigio susceperit.'

CAP. VII.

DE BELLORUM FRAGORIBUS LONGE COMMISSORUM BEATI PROPHETIA VIRI[2].

He sees the battle of Ondemone,

Post bellum Cule Drebene[3], sicut nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scotice dicitur Ondemone[4], idem homo Dei coram Conallo rege, filio Comgill[5], in Britannia conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit: quorum propria vocabula Ainmorius filius Setni[6], et duo filii Maic Erce[7], Domnallus et Forcus[8]. Sed et de rege Cruithniorum[9], qui Echodius Laib[10] vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui insidens evaserit, similiter Sanctus prophetizavit.

[1] *permittente*] Reeves says that 'in the Lives of Irish Saints, the formula *accepta licentia* (having taken *leave* or permission) generally accompanies the mention of a departure from a monastery' (ed. 1857, p. 31).

[2] This and the following chapter come under '*De bellis*,' p. 7.

[3] *bellum Cule Drebene*] Culedrebinae bellum, Pref. 2, where see note, p. 5.

[4] *bellum . . . Ondemone*] Fought against the Cruithne by the Northern Hy-Neill, in 563. The name *Ondemone* has not been explained.

[5] *Conallo*, etc.] The king of the Scottish Dalriada who first gave Columba leave to settle in Iona. He died in 574.

[6] *Ainmorius*, etc.] Irish over-king in 568, cousin of St. Columba.

[7] *filii Maic Erce*] Sons of Muircertach, whose matronymic was Mac Eirc, as being son of Muiredach by Earca, daughter of Loarn. See Muiredachus in Index.

[8] *Domnallus et Forcus*] Irish joint-kings in 565.

[9] *Cruithnii*] The Cruithne, Dal Araidhe, Southern Hy-Neill, or Irish Picts, who occupied the southern half of what is now Antrim, and the greater part of Down; the descendants of the first wife of Niall of the Nine Hostages. See Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 336.

[10] *Echodius Laib*] Echoid Laib, king of the Cruithne or Irish Picts.

†

CAP. VIII.

DE BELLO MIATHORUM [1].

Cummian, XXV. and that of the Miathi.

ALIO in tempore, hoc est post multos a supra memorato bello annorum transcursus, cum esset vir sanctus in Ioua insula, *subito* ad suum dicit ministratorem Diormitium[2], 'Cloccam pulsa[3].' *Cuius sonitu fratres incitati* ad ecclesiam, ipso sancto praesule praecunte, ocius currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus infit: 'Nunc intente pro hoc populo et Aidano[4] rege Dominum oremus; hac enim hora ineunt bellum.' *Et post* modicum *interrallum* egressus oratorium, respiciens in caelum inquit, '*Nunc* barbari *in fugam* vertuntur; *Aidanoque*, quamlibet infelix, tamen concessa *victoria* est.' *Sed et de numero* de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, *trecentorum et trium virorum*, vir beatus prophetice enarravit [5].

CAP. IX.

DE FILIIS AIDANI REGIS SANCTI COLUMBAE PROPHETIA [6].

ALIO in tempore ante supra dictum bellum Sanctus Aidanum regem[7] interrogat de regni successore. Illo se re-

[1] *Miathorum*] The Miathi or Maeatae were a British tribe dwelling by the northern Roman vallum, the Caledonians being beyond them.

[2] *Diormitium*] St. Columba's faithful attendant Diormit is frequently mentioned. See Index.

[3] *Cloccam pulsa*] *Clocca* is the old Irish *cloc*, later *clog*, a bell, akin to the English *clock*, and probably of echoic origin. In the sense of 'bell' the A.S. *clucge* occurs once in Alfred's *Baeda*, iv. 23, referring to a bell at the monastery of Hacanos or Hackness), reappearing in Caxton's *Golden Legend* and then surviving as late as 1715, apparently derived from Old French or Dutch without any historic continuity with the Anglo-Saxon (N.E.D.). On Irish ecclesiastical bells, see Intr. iv. 8, 9. The identical bell used on this occasion is possibly still in existence (Warren, 92).

[4] *Aidano*] Aedhan (dim. of Aedh) son of Gabhran, king or lord of the Scotch Dalriada; he succeeded in 574, and opposed Aedh son of Ainmire at Drumceatt (see Aidus rex in Index).

[5] *enarravit*] This is very like Bede's story of St. Cuthbert's vision at Carlisle, when he saw King Ecgfrith slain in battle with the Picts. *Vit. S. C.* cap. 27.

[6] This and the following six chapters are included above, p. 7, under the heading, '*De regibus.*'

[7] *regem*] The king mentioned in the last chapter.

spondente nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus. Arturius, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus, Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: 'Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator; nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi: sed nunc si alios iuniores habes ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit Dominus regem, subito super meum irruet gremium.' Quibus accitis, secundum verbum Sancti Echodius Buide adveniens in sinu eius recubuit. Statimque Sanctus eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: 'Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii eius post eum regnabunt[1].' Sic omnia post, suis temporibus, plene adimpleta sunt. Nam Arturius et Echodius Find, non longo post temporis intervallo, Miatorum superius memorato in bello, trucidati sunt. Domingartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage interfectus est: Echodius autem Buide post patrem in regnum successit.

Prophecy of the succession.

CAP. X.

DE DOMNALLO FILIO AIDO.

Domnallus[2] filius Aido[3], adhuc puer, ad sanctum Columbam in Dorso Cete[4] per nutritores[5] adductus est: quem intuens percunctatur inquiens, 'Cuius est filius hic quem adduxistis?' Illis respondentibus, 'Hic est Domnallus filius Aido, qui ad te ideo perductus est, ut tua redeat benedictione ditatus.' Quem cum Sanctus benedixisset, continuo ait, 'Hic post super omnes suos fratres superstes erit, et rex valde famosus; nec unquam in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida, in senectute, et

A similar prophecy.

[1] *regnabunt*] For Columba's prophecy during the 'ordination' of Aedhan, see iii. 5.

[2] *Domnallus*] Domhnall surnamed Breccus, or fil. Aido, king of Ireland, *ob.* 642. Son of king Aedh, *ob.* 598, who was son of king Ainmire or Ainmurech, *ob.* 569.

[3] *Aido*] Properly Aedho, the old Irish genitive of Aedh, as in title of ch. 13. Cp. p. 5 n.

[4] *Dorso Cete*] In Druim Ceatt, Drumceatt, or Dromocheta, the ridge of Ceatt, a place in Derry, where the famous convention was held in 575. Intr. vii. § 4. Ceatt, Cet, or Keth is a man's name.

[5] *nutritores*] See iii. 2 n.

intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba, super suum morietur lectum[1].' Quae omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt.

CAP. XI.

DE SCANDLANO FILIO COLMANI.

He comforts Scandlan in prison.

EODEM tempore Sanctus, et in eodem loco, ad Scandlanum[2] filium Colmani, apud Aidum regem in vinculis retentum[3], visitare eum cupiens, pergit; ipsumque cum benedixisset, confortans ait: 'Fili, nolis contristari, sed potius laetare et confortare: Aidus enim rex, apud quem vinculatus es, de hoc mundo te praecedet; et, post aliqua exilii tempora, triginta annis in gente tua rex regnaturus es. Iterumque de regno effugaberis, et per aliquot exulabis dies; post quos, a populo reinvitatus, per tria regnabis brevia tempora.' Quae cuncta iuxta vaticinationem Sancti plene expleta sunt. Nam post triginta annos de regno expulsus, per aliquod exulavit spatium temporis: sed post a populo reinvitatus, non, ut putabat, tribus annis, sed ternis regnavit mensibus; post quos continuo obiit.

CAP. XII.

DE DUOBUS ALIIS REGNATORIBUS, QUI DUO NEPOTES MUIREDACHI VOCITABANTUR, BAITANUS FILIUS MAIC ERCE ET ECHODIUS FILIUS DOMNAIL, BEATI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

ALIO in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quae dicitur Artdamuirchol[4], et suos audiens comites, Laisranum[5] utique filium Feradachi, et Diormi-

[1] *lectum*] An unusual kind of death for an Irish sovereign at this time.

[2] *Scandlanum*] Scandlanus, son of Colman. In most Irish authorities called Scanlann Mor, son of Cenfaeladh, but all the MSS. have the reading in the text.

[3] *in vinculis retentum*] St. Columba tried to effect the liberation of Scanlann. Intr. vii. § 4.

[4] *Artdamuirchol*] Artdaib Muirchol, or Artmuirchol, 'height of the two sea-hazels,' now Ardnamurchan, 'height of the sea-calf,' in Argyle.

[5] *Laisranum*] Laisran, son of Feradach, was first cousin to St. Columba. Abbot of Iona 600-605, *ob.* Sept. 16. Previously

tium ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis[1] regibus in via sermocinari, haec ad eos verba depromit: 'O filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? nam illi ambo reges, de quibus nunc sermocinamini, nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia[2] adventantes nautae haec eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus.' Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hibernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc Paradisi[3] pervenientes, supra scriptis eius binis comitibus, et in eadem navi cum Sancto navigantibus, de iisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

He sees the death of two kings.

CAP. XIII.

DE OINGUSIO FILIO AIDO COMMANI[4] SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Hic namque de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus, ad Sanctum in Britannia peregrinantem exul venit; cuique benedicens, haec de eo prophetizans sancto promit de pectore verba: 'Hic iuvenis, defunctis eius ceteris fratribus superstes remanens, multo est regnaturus in patria tempore; et inimici eius coram ipso cadent; nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed morte placida, senex, inter amicos morietur.' Quae omnia iuxta Sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est Oingusius cuius cognomentum Bronbachal[5].

Foretells a future reign.

Abbot of Durrow. See Intr. viii. § 2.

[1] *supra memoratis*] This shows that the title is an integral part of the work.

[2] *Scotia*] Synonymous with *Hibernia* in the next sentence, and again in cap. 17, and *passim*. See note on Pref. 2, p. 5 n.

[3] *Muirbolc Paradisi*] Identified by Dr. Skene with Port-na-Murloch, a sheltered harbour in Lismore in Argyle. *Murbolgh* = sea-inlet. Lismore is said to be Gaelic *Lios*, garden, and *mor*, great; hence perhaps the epithet *Paradisi*. Reeves, 1874, App. 325.

[4] *De Oingusio fil. Aido Commani*] Aengus surnamed Bronbachal. The Annals of Ulster have, A. C. 648, *Mors Oengusa Bronbachlae regis Ceniuil Coirpri*. The Cenel Cairbre were a tribe, whence Carbury, in north Sligo.

[5] *Bronbachal*] Interpreted *baculi dolorosi*, and supposed to refer to the pilgrim's staff. This Aengus was also called *an naoimh*, 'the religious.' See Reeves's note.

CAP. XIV.

PROPHETIA BEATI VIRI DE FILIO DERMITI REGIS QUI AIDUS SLANE[1] LINGUA NOMINATUS EST SCOTICA.

Utters a prophetic warning.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scotia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad supradictum Aidum, ad se venientem, sic prophetice locutus ait, 'Praecavere debes, fili, ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniae regni praerogativam monarchiae praedestinatam, parricidali[2] faciente peccato, amittas: nam, si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno, sed eius aliqua parte in gente tua, brevi frueris tempore.' Quae verba Sancti sic sunt expleta secundum eius vaticinationem[3]. Nam post Suibneum[4] filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus, ut fertur, quam quatuor annis et tribus mensibus regni concessa potitus est parte.

CAP. XV.

DE REGE RODERCO FILIO TOTHAIL[5], QUI IN PETRA CLOITHE[6] REGNAVIT, BEATI VIRI PROPHETIA.

Foretells that a king will die in his bed.

ALIO idem in tempore hic, ut erat sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum occultam per Lugbeum Mocumin[7] legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non. At vero Lugbeus, a Sancto interrogatus de eodem rege, et regno, et populo, et re-

[1] *Aidus Slane*] Aedh Slane, eldest son of Diarmait, king or lord of the Southern Hy-Neill, named from the river Slaine, near which he was born. He consented to the grant of Kells to St. Columba, succeeded his father, and, about 580, granted a site for a church at Lynally at the instance of St. Columba.

[2] *parricidali*] murderous. 'Auisle parricidio a fratribus suis iugulatus est.' *Ann. Ult.* 866. This use is amply attested.

[3] *vaticinationem*] It was his nephew whom he slew. See the next note.

[4] *Suibneum*] Suibhne, son of Columbanus or Colman Mor; he was assassinated in 600 by his uncle Aedh Slane, and his death was avenged by Conall his son, in 604. Hence an Irish rime to this effect:—'Conall slew Aedh Slaine, Aedh Slaine slew Suibhne.'

[5] *Roderco fil. Tothail*] Rhydderch, son of Tudwal, a British king.

[6] *Petra Cloithe*] The Alcluith of Bede (*H. E.* i. 1) called in the thirteenth century from its British inhabitants Dun-Breatan, now Dumbarton.

[7] *Lugbeum Mocumin*] This Lugbe and his brother Lugne are frequently mentioned. See Index. Mocumin is their tribe-name.

spondens, quasi misertus, dicit, 'Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur, nullo modo scire potest?' Sanctus tum deinde profatur, 'Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super plumatiunculam[1], morietur domo.' Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium plene adimpletum est: nam iuxta verbum eius in domo sua morte placida obiit.

CAP. XVI.

DE DUOBUS PUERIS, QUORUM UNUS, IUXTA VERBUM SANCTI, IN FINE HEBDOMADIS OBIIT, PROPHETIA SANCTI.

A prophecy regarding two boys.

Alio in tempore duo quidam plebei ad Sanctum in Ioua commorantem insula deveniunt; quorum unus, Meldanus nomine, de filio suo qui praesens erat Sanctum interrogat, quid ei esset futurum. Cui Sanctus sic profatur: 'Nonne sabbati dies[2] hodierna est? filius tuus sexta feria[3], in fine morietur septimanae, octavaque die, hoc est, sabbato, hic sepelietur.' Alter proinde plebeus, nomine Glasdercus[4], et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit nihilominus interrogans, talem Sancti audit responsionem: 'Filius tuus Ernanus suos videbit nepotes et in hac insula senex sepelietur.' Quae omnia, secundum verbum Sancti, de pueris ambobus, suis plene temporibus sunt expleta.

[1] *plumatiuncula*] a feather pillow.

[2] *sabbati dies*] The ancient application of the term *Sabbatum* to Saturday survives to this day in the Roman service-books, and in modern languages, as Ital. *Sabbato*, Fr. *Samedi* (sabbati dies). It was first applied to Sunday in the twelfth century, figuratively, when the observation of the real Sabbath had ceased among Christians. Heylin (*Hist. of Sabbath*, pt. ii. ch. v, 13), asserts that the phrase is first found in Petrus Alfonsus in the twelfth century: 'Dies Dominica...Christianorum sabbatum est.'

[3] *sexta feria*] Friday is *feria sexta*, Sunday being *dies Dominica*, Monday *feria secunda*, and so on to Saturday, or *Sabbatum*. As *octavaque die* refers to the Sabbath in this connexion, it would seem as if Columba reckoned from Saturday to the eighth day from the time of speaking, and that this burial took place on the day after death. *Feria* in classical Latin is a festival, whence 'fair-day,' but in eccl. use it has come to mean a weekday.

[4] *Glasdercus*] From the Irish *Glas Derg*, Grey-eyed.

CAP. XVII.

DE COLCIO[1], AIDO DRAIGNICHE FILIO, A NEPOTIBUS FECHUREG ORTÓ; ET DE QUODAM OCCULTO MATRIS EIUS PECCATO, PROPHETIA SANCTI.

Concerning the mother of Colca,

ALIO in tempore, supramemoratum Colgium, apud se in Ioua commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa[2], an non. Cui ipse inquiens ait, 'Bene moratam, et bonae famae, meam novi matrem.' Sanctus tum sic prophetice profatur, 'Mox, Deo volente, ad Scotiam[3] profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto, quod nulli hominum confiteri vult.' Qui, haec audiens, obsecutus, ad Hiberniam emigravit. Proinde mater, ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule[4] infitiens, tamen suum confessa est peccatum[5], et iuxta Sancti iudicationem, poenitudinem agens, sanata[6], de se quod Sancto manifestatum est valde mirata est.

and Colca himself.

Colgius vero[7], ad Sanctum reversus, per aliquot dies apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans temporis, hoc a Sancto audit responsum: 'In tua, quam amas, patria primarius[8] alicuius ecclesiae per multos eris annos; et si forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam[9] in coena amicorum ludentem, hauritoriumque[10] in gyro per

[1] *Colcius*, Colgius, Colca, or Colcu, an Irish saint (Colgan, Feb. 20, p. 380), de nepotibus Fechureg sive Fechreg (*Ui Fiachrach*), son of Aidus Draigniche, 'of the blackthorn.'

[2] *religiosa*] religious in the ordinary sense.

[3] *Scotiam*] i. e. Hiberniam; see next sentence.

[4] *primule*] 'in the first instance' (*De Locis Sanctis*, iii. 4).

[5] *peccatum*] Said in Aengus *de Matribus SS. Hiberniae* to have been adultery (Reeves).

[6] *sanata*] As there is no mention of any bodily sickness, the word probably relates here to spiritual healing, as in Ps. cxlvi. (cxlvii.) 3, Jer. iii. 22, viii. 11, etc. Vulg.

[7] *Colgius vero*] This has a separate heading in the *Capitulationes*, p. 7.

[8] *primarius*] See Glossary.

[9] *pincernam*] 'Cellarius' is the usual term for a monastic butler.

[10] *hauritoriumque*, etc.] Dr. Reeves says here (ed. 1854), 'The meaning of this obscure passage seems to be: When you see your butler making merry in a supper of his friends, and twirling the ladle round in the strainer, etc. The difficulty arises from our imper-

collum torquentem, scito te mox in brevi moriturum.' Quid plura? Haec eadem beati viri prophetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio eodem est prophetata.

CAP. XVIII.

DE LAISRANO HORTULANO, HOMINE SANCTO.

Foretells certain events.

VIR beatus quemdam de suis monachum nomine Trenanum, gente Mocuruntir[1], legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam praecipit die. Qui, hominis Dei obsecutus iussioni, navigationem parat festinus; unumque sibi deesse navigatorem coram Sancto queritur. Sanctus haec consequenter, eidem respondens, sacro promit de pectore verba, dicens, 'Nautam, quem tibi non adhuc suppetisse dicis, nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace: usquequo ad Hiberniam pervenias prosperos et secundos habebis flatus. Quemdamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occursurum, qui primus prae ceteris navis proram tuae tenebit in Scotia, hic erit comes tui itineris per aliquot in Hibernia dies; teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur, vir a Deo electus, qui in hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur.' Quid plura? Trenanus, accipiens a Sancto benedictionem, plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria: et, ecce, appropinquanti ad portum naviculae Laisranus Mocumoie, citior ceteris, occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautae recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo Sanctus praedixerat.

CAP. XIX.

DE CETO MAGNO QUOMODO SANCTUS PRAESCIENS DIXERAT.

QUADAM die, cum vir venerabilis in Ioua demoraretur insula, quidam frater, Berachus nomine, ad Ethicam proponens insulam[2] navigare, ad Sanctum mane accedens, ab eo

fect knowledge concerning the domestic utensils of the early natives.' He takes *hauritorium* to be 'ladle,' and *collum* to be for *colum*, 'strainer.' But render, 'whirling round the bottle by its neck.'

[1] *Mocuruntir*] Mac-Ui-Runtir.

[2] *Ethicam insulam*] 'Ethica insula sive terra' is 'the corn-bearing isle,' from *eth* or *ith*, corn;

benedici postulat. Quem Sanctus intuitus, inquit, 'O fili, hodie intentius praecaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pelagus, sed potius, circumiens, minores secus naviges insulas; ne videlicet, aliquo monstruoso perterritus prodigio, vix inde possis evadere.' Qui, a Sancto accepta benedictione, secessit, et navem conscendens, Sancti verbum quasi parvipendens, transgreditur; maiora proinde Ethici transmeans spatia pelagi, ipse et qui ibi inerant nautae vident, et ecce cetus mirae et immensae magnitudinis, se instar montis erigens, ora aperuit patula nimis dentosa, supernatans. Tum proinde remiges, deposito velo, valde perterriti, retro reversi, illam obortam ex belluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt, Sanctique verbum recognoscentes propheticum, admirabantur. Eadem quoque die Sanctus Baitheneo, ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo, mane de eodem intimavit ceto, inquiens, 'Hac praeterita nocte media, cetus magnus de profundo maris se sublevavit, et inter Iouam et Ethicam insulam se hodie in superficiem eriget aequoris.' Cui Baitheneus respondens infit, 'Ego et illa bellua sub Dei potestate sumus.' Sanctus, 'Vade,' ait, 'in pace, fides tua in Christo te ab hoc defendet periculo.' Baitheneus tum deinde, a Sancto benedictione accepta, a portu enavigat: transcursisque non parvis ponti spatiis, ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt; perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus aequor et cetum, ambabus manibus elevatis, benedicit intrepidus. Eodemque momento bellua magna, se sub fluctus immergens, nusquam deinceps eis apparuit.

Of a great whale.

in Irish Saints' Lives, terra, insula, or regio Hyth, or Hyth. From the Irish *Tir itha*, answering to *Terra Hyth*, we have now, through various stages, *Tiree*, the name of a sandy but fertile island, about twenty miles N.W. of and visible from Iona. *Ethicum pelagus* is mentioned below, in this same chapter.

CAP. XX.

DE QUODAM BAITANO, QUI CUM CETERIS DESERTUM MARINUM APPETENS ENAVIGAVERAT, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Baitan's wanderings in search of a desert island.

Alio in tempore quidam Baitanus[1], gente Nepos Niath Taloirc[2], benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum quaesiturus. Cui valedicens Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum, 'Hic homo, qui ad quaerendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus iacebit, sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina trans sepulcrum eius minabit[3].' Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per ventosa circuitus aequora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cuiusdam cellulae[4] dominus permansit, quae Scotice Lathreginden[5] dicitur. Iisdemque diebus accidit, quibus, post aliqua mortuus tempora, sepultus est in Roboreto Calgachi, ut propter hostilitatis incursum vicina ad eiusdem loci ecclesiam plebecula cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret[6]. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier deprehenderetur aliqua, quae suas per eiusdem viri sepulcrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit, 'Nunc prophetia sancti Columbae expleta est, multis prius divulgata annis.' Qui utique supra memoratus presbyter mihi haec de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus[7] nomine, Christi miles, gente [a] Mocurin.

[a] Mocucurin B.[8]

[1] *Baitanus*] Irish *baotan*; Baithene is *baoithin*.

[2] *Niath Taloirc*] Niath = 'champion,' Tolorg is a Pictish name.

[3] *minabit*] 'Minare,' to drive animals, occurs in Is. xi. 6 and Jer. xxxi. 24, Vulg., also in passages quoted by Reeves from Lives of Saints. The same word is used in Acts xviii. 16, '*Et minavit eos a tribunali.*' Fr. *mener*.

[4] *cellulae*] The word 'cellula' is common in the Book of Armagh, and appears to denote a small monastic house.

[5] *Lathreginden*] Not identified; probably near Derry.

[6] *confugeret*] This does not point to the mediaeval use of Sanctuary, but is rather a case of war or siege. For a very graphic description of Durham in like case in 1091, see the *Auctarium* appended to Symeon, cap. ix. or x., translated in the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert, 5221-5312.

[7] *Mailodranus*] Mael-Odhrain, 'Servus Odrani.'

[8] *Mocucurin*] Mac-Ui-Curin?

CAP. XXI.

DE NEMANO QUODAM FICTO POENITENTE SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

The fate of one Neman, a penitent.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus ad Hinbinam insulam[1] pervenit, eademque die ut etiam poenitentibus aliqua praecipit cibi consolatio indulgeretur[2]. Erat autem ibi inter poenitentes quidam Nemanus, filius Cathir, qui, a Sancto iussus, renuit oblatam accipere consolatiunculam. Quem Sanctus his compellat verbis, 'O Nemane, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refectionis indulgentiam? Erit tempus quo cum furacibus furtive carnem in sylva manducabis equae[3].' Hic idem itaque, postea ad saeculum reversus, in saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem, iuxta verbum Sancti, de craticula[4] sumptam lignea, inventus est.

CAP. XXII.

DE INFELICI QUODAM QUI CUM SUA DORMIVIT GENITRICE.

The fate of a wretched sinner.

ALIO in tempore fratres intempesta nocte suscitat Sanctus, ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit, 'Nunc Dominum intentius precemur; nam hac in hora aliquod inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est, pro quo valde timenda iudicialis est vindicta.'

[1] *Hinbinam insulam*] Some island probably not far north of Iona, not yet identified with certainty. But Dr. W. F. Skene has shown good reasons for supposing it to be Eileann na Naoimh (Isle of Saints). Hinba and Ethica insula were the most important islands connected with Iona in St. Columba's time, and on Eileann na Naoimh are some remarkable remains of a primitive church and of three beehive cells. (Reeves's *Adamnan*, ed. 1874, App. I.) See Elena insula (ii. 18 n.) and Muirbulcmar (iii. 23 n.).

[2] *indulgeretur*] This relaxation in honour of a visitor appears again in ch. 26, where see note.

[3] *equae*] Reeves refers to Colgan for a similar prediction by St. Enda concerning one who refused hospitality.

[4] *craticula*] A hurdle, grate, or grill, hence a gridiron, here some wooden substitute for one. Pocock in his Irish Tour, 1752, ed. Stokes, Dublin 1891, p. 37, says, 'I went to the Causeway late, and Mr. Duncane came and dined with me, and sent a fresh salmon which was roasted before a turf fire; it was cut in pieces and stuck on five or six sticks, set in the ground round the fire, and sometimes taken up and turn'd.'

De quo peccato crastino die, aliquibus paucis percunctantibus, intimavit inquiens, 'Post paucos menses cum Lugaido[1] nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad Iouam perveniet insulam.' Alia itaque die Sanctus ad Diormitium, interiectis quibusdam mensibus, praecipiens profatur, 'Surge citius, ecce Lugaidus appropinquat, dicque ei ut miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam propellat insulam[2], ne huius insulae cespitem calcet.' Qui, praecepto Sancti obsecutus, ad mare pergit. Lugaidoque adventanti omnia Sancti prosequitur de infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis, ille infelix iuravit nunquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum videret Columbam, eumque alloqueretur. Quae infelicis verba Diormitius, ad Sanctum reversus, retulit. Quibus compertis, Sanctus ad portum perrexit, Baitheneoque, prolatis sacrae Scripturae testimoniis, suggerenti ut miseri poenitudo susciperetur, Sanctus consequenter inquit, 'O Baithenee, hic homo fratricidium in modum perpetravit Cain, et cum sua matre moechatus est.' Tum deinde miser in litore flexis genibus leges poenitentiae[3] expleturum se promisit, iuxta Sancti iudicationem. Cui Sanctus ait, 'Si duodecim annis[4] inter Brittones cum fletu et lacrymis poenitentiam egeris, nec ad Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris, forsan Deus peccato ignoscat tuo.' Haec dicens Sanctus, ad suos conversus, dicit, 'Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit poenitentiam non explebit, sed mox ad Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit.' Quae omnia secundum Sancti prophetiam ita contigerunt: nam miser iisdem diebus ad Hiberniam reversus, in regione

[1] *Lugaido*] Luguid the messenger appears again in ii. 5, 38.

[2] *Maleam insulam*] The island of Mull, separated from Iona by the narrow Sound.

[3] *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons, as laid down in the Penitentials. That of Cummian (not the biographer of Columba, but the famous advocate of Rome in the Paschal controversy, and probably a monk of Durrow) is an abridgement of the earlier penitential canons; it has been printed in Fleming's *Coll. Sacra*, 197–210, and in Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, etc., 460 sq.

[4] *duodecim annis*] A usual term of monastic penance or service. Reeves refers to ch. 26 and iii. 23; Bede, *H. E.* v. 20, *Hist. Abb. Uirem.* §§ 7, 14, and *Cod. Marsh*, fo. 128 *a*, *b*.

quae vocitatur Lea[1], in manus incidens inimicorum trucidatus est. Hic de Nepotibus Turtrei[2] erat.

CAP. XXIII.

DE I VOCALI LITERA.

QUADAM die Baitheneus, ad Sanctum accedens, ait, Necesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum Psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet[3]. Quo audito, Sanctus sic profatur, 'Cur hanc super nos infers sine causa molestiam? nam in tuo hoc, de quo dicis, Psalterio nec una superflua reperietur litera, nec alia deesse, excepta I vocali[4], quae sola deest.' Et sic, toto perlecto Psalterio, sicuti Sanctus praedixerat repertum exploratum est.

The collating of a Psalter.

CAP. XXIV.

DE LIBRO IN AQUARIUM VAS SANCTUS SICUTI PRAEDIXERAT CADENTE.

QUADAM itidem die, ad focum[5] in monasterio sedens, videt Lugbeum, gente Mocumin, eminus librum legentem, cui repente ait, 'Praecave, fili, praecave, aestimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquae plenum sit casurus vasculum.' Quod mox ita contigit: nam ille supra memoratus iuvenis, post aliquod breve intervallum, ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrationem, verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus, quem sub ascella[6] negligentius inclusit, subito in hydriam aqua repletam cecidit[7].

Accidental immersion of a book.

[1] *Lea*] In Irish *Li* or *Lee*; the place is near Coleraine.

[2] *Turtrei*] The tribes called Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li (Lea) had a common ancestry. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 82 n.

[3] *emendet*] Note the practice of going through a newly copied MS. with another person in order to correct it if necessary, and see the last sentence in Book iii.

[4] *I vocali*] The letter by which St. Brendan of Birr is said to have indicated to St. Columba the place of his future sojourn. See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 462 *a*; Ussher, *Wks.* vi. p. 240; Innes, *Civ. and Eccl. Hist.* p. 170. (Reeves.)

[5] *focum*] Probably the only fire in the monastery, which would be the kitchen fire, most likely one of turf burning on a hearth.

[6] *ascella*] for *axilla*, 'inter brachium et latus,' ii. 8.

[7] *cecidit*] This story affords a good example of the way in which

CAP. XXV.

DE CORNICULO ATRAMENTI INANITER DEFUSO.

ALIA inter haec die ultra fretum Iouae insulae clamatum est[1]: quem Sanctus sedens in tuguriolo[2] tabulis suffulto[3] audiens clamorem dicit, 'Homo qui ultra clamitat fretum non est subtilis sensus[4], nam hodie mei corniculum[5] atramenti inclinans effundet.' Quod verbum eius ministrator Diormitius audiens, paulisper ante ianuam stans, gravem[6] expectabat superventurum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed, alia mox faciente causa, inde recessit; et post eius recessum hospes molestus[7] supervenit, Sanctumque osculandum appetens, ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum.

An inkhorn upset.

CAP. XXVI.

DE ALICUIUS ADVENTU HOSPITIS QUEM SANCTUS PRAENUNTIAVIT.

ALIO itidem tempore Sanctus die tertiae feriae[8] fratribus sic profatus est, 'Crastina quarta feria ieiunare proponimus[9], sed tamen, superveniente quodam molesto hospite,

ordinary foresight might be mistaken for prophetic insight. Very probably St. Columba knew by experience that both Lugbe and the guest mentioned in the following chapter were careless or clumsy in their habits.

[1] *clamatum est*] So in ch. 26, 27, 32, 43. Strong voices, even those of shepherds calling to their dogs, or of boys at play, can be heard across the Sound when the wind is favourable. Reeves mentions the use of visible signals, as of smoke from an ignited bundle of heather.

[2] *tuguriolo*] St. Columba's own cell. Cf. iii. 22, and i. 35, ii. 16, iii. 15.

[3] *tabulis suffulto*] Supported by boards forming a raised platform, probably reached by a few steps: it was no doubt itself made of boards, or of wattles.

[4] *subtilis sensus*] of delicate perception.

[5] *corniculum*] Representations of ancient inkhorns appear in illuminated MSS. Intr. iv. § 13.

[6] *gravem*] troublesome.

[7] *molestus*] dangerous. These epithets are apparently employed half in joke.

[8] *tertiae feriae*] Tuesday; see above, p. 29 n.

[9] *ieiunare proponimus*] Ussher thought it very probable that the Wednesday and Friday fast were introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick (*Wks.* vi. p. 444). St. Augustine refers to the custom (*Ad Casulanum*, Ep. 36 or 86). St. Aidan

consuetudinarium solvetur ieiunium[1].' Quod ita ut Sancto praeostensum est accidit: nam mane eadem quarta feria, alius ultra fretum clamitabat proselytus, Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi, qui, ut fertur, duodecim annis Brendeno ministravit Mocualti[2]; vir valde religiosus[3], qui, ut advenit, eiusdem diei, iuxta verbum Sancti, ieiunationem solvit.

A fast dispensed with for a guest.

CAP. XXVII.

DE ALIQUO MISERABILI VIRO QUI ULTRA SUPRADICTUM CLAMITABAT FRETUM.

Quadam quoque die, quemdam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem, Sanctus hoc profatur modo: 'Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui, aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta[4] petiturus pertinentia, ad nos venit: cui opportunius erat veram de peccatis hodie poenitudinem gerere; nam in huius fine hebdomadis morietur.' Quod verbum qui inerant praesentes advenienti misero intimavere. Sed ille parvipendens, acceptis quae poposcerat, citius recessit; et, secundum Sancti propheticum verbum, ante finem eiusdem septimanae mortuus est.

A man comes for medical aid.

brought it over from Iona to Lindisfarne (Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 5) and Columbanus's Penitential refers to it (cap. 13). In the early Western Church generally the Wednesday and Friday and also the Saturday (*ieiunium Sabbati*) were observed, but the Wednesday and Saturday fasts were kept less and less strictly, and at last discontinued except in the Ember-weeks, and on Rogation Wednesday and Easter Eve. See Ducange, s. v. *Ieiunium*.

[1] *solvetur ieiunium*] Cf. ch. 21. Both cases point to great discretionary power in heads of Irish monasteries. There is an Irish canon *De solvendo ieiunio*, 'humanitatis causa' (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ix. 9. Paris, 1669).

[2] *Brendeno Mocualti*] The famous St. Brendan of Clonfert, on whom see Intr. v. § 4. His tribe-name was Mac Ua Alta.

[3] *valde religiosus*] Yet, it appears, 'molestus,' because his coming would involve a relaxation of discipline.

[4] *carnalia medicamenta*] Note the resort to the monastery for medical treatment. *Carnalis* here means after the flesh, earthly, as in ii. 39.

CAP. XXVIII.

DE ROMANI IURIS [1] CIVITATE IGNI SULFUREO COELITUS PROLAPSO COMBUSTA SANCTI VIRI PROPHETIA.

Vision of fire from heaven in Italy.

Alio itidem in tempore, Lugbeus gente Mocumin, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, quadam ad Sanctum die post frugum veniens triturationem [2], nullo modo eius faciem intueri potuit, miro superfusam rubore; valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem Sanctus, complosis paulum manibus, revocat. Qui reversus, a Sancto statim interrogatus cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit responsum, 'Ideo fugi quia nimis pertimui.' Et post aliquod modicum intervallum, fiducialius agens, audet Sanctum interrogare, inquiens, 'Numquid hac in hora tibi aliqua formidabilis ostensa visio est?' Cui Sanctus talem dedit responsionem: 'Tam terrifica ultio nunc in remota orbis parte peracta est.' 'Qualis,' ait iuvenis, 'vindicta, et in qua regione facta?' Sanctus tum sic profatur: 'Sulfurea de caelo flamma super Romani iuris civitatem, intra Italiae terminos sitam, hac hora effusa est; triaque ferme millia virorum, excepto matrum puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam praesens finiatur annus, Gallici nautae, de Gallia-

Arrival of Gaulish sailors to tell the tale.

rum provinciis adventantes [3], haec eadem tibi enarrabunt.' Quae verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt comprobata. Nam idem Lugbeus, simul cum sancto viro ad Caput Regionis [4] pergens [5], nauclerum et nautas adventantis barcae [6] interrogans, sic

[1] *Romani iuris*] Subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire. Notker Balbulus, in relating this same prophecy and its fulfilment, gives the name of the city as Nova, now Citta Nuova, in Istria. (*Martyrol.* Jun. 9.)

[2] *triturationem*] The grinding of corn by hand-querns seems to have been part of the daily labour of the monks, as at Clonard under St. Finnian; see Intr. v. § 3.

[3] *adventantes*] There are other references in Lives of Saints to frequent intercourse between Gaul and Britain and Ireland. Gallic traders visited Clonmacnoise A. D. 548–9 (*Vit. S. Kierani*, Cod. Marsh, c. 31).

[4] *Caput Regionis*] Cantyre (Irish Cenn-tire or Cind-tire), 'hoc est,' says Buchanan, 'Regionis Caput.'

[5] *pergens*] The distance from Iona to the nearest part of Cantyre is about fifty miles by sea.

[6] *barcae*] *Barca*, a ship, occurs

omnia illa de civitate cum civibus ab eis audit enarrata, quemadmodum a praedicabili viro sunt praedicta.

CAP. XXIX.

DE LAISRANO FILIO FERADACHI BEATI VISIO VIRI.

Vision of overworked labourers in Derry.

QUADAM brumali et valde frigida die Sanctus, magno molestatus maerore, flevit. Quem suus minister Diormitius, de causa interrogans maestitiae, hoc ab eo responsum accepit, 'Non immerito, O filiole, ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos, quos Laisranus nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicuius maioris domus [1] fabrica molestat; quae mihi valde displicet.' Mirum dictu! eodem momento horae Laisranus, habitans in monasterio Roboreti Campi [2], quodammodo coactus, et quasi quadam pyra [3] intrinsecus succensus, iubet monachos a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consolationem praeparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed et in ceteris asperae tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quae verba ad fratres consolatoria, a Laisrano dicta, Sanctus in spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter gavisus ipse in Ioua insula commanens, fratribus, qui ad praesens inerant, per omnia enarravit, et Laisranum monachorum benedixit consolatorem.

CAP. XXX.

DE FECHNO SAPIENTE, QUOMODO POENITENS AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM, AB EODEM PRAENUNCIATUS, VENIT.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, in cacumine sedens montis qui nostro huic monasterio eminus supereminet [4], ad suum ministratorem Diormitium conversus, profatus est, dicens,

in Paulinus Nolanus, c. 400. It is probably identical with *bark*, *barge*, and the Old Irish *barc*.

[1] *maioris domus*] Called *monasterium rotundum* in the heading of iii. 15, where see note.

[2] *Roboreti Campi*] Oakwood Plain, Dair-magh, Durrow.

[3] *pyra*] Properly a funeral pile, but here preferred to *ignis* as being of Greek origin.

[4] *supereminet*] The highest spot in Iona is Dun-I (330 ft.), but Dr. Reeves thinks that Cnoc Mor, which immediately overlooks the village, is more likely to be the hill referred to here. Cp. iii, 23 n.

'Miror quare tardius appropinquat quaedam de Scotia navis. quae quemdam advehit sapientem virum[1], qui in quodam facinore lapsus, lacrymosam gerens poenitudinem, mox adveniet.' Post proinde haud grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister, velum navis videt ad portum[2] propinquantis. Quam cum Sancto adventantem demonstraret, cito surgit. inquiens, 'Eamus proselyto obviam, cuius veram Christus suscipit poenitentiam.' At vero Feachnaus, de navi descendens, Sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit; cum fletu et lamento, ante pedes eius ingeniculans flexis genibus, amarissime ingemuit, et, coram omnibus[3] qui ibidem inerant, peccantias confitetur suas. Sanctus tum, cum eo pariter illacrymatus, ad eum ait, 'Surge fili, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua quae commisisti peccamina; quia, sicut scriptum est, *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit*[4].' Qui surgens, gaudenter a Sancto susceptus, ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo Lunge[5] praepositum[6] commorantem, post aliquot est emissus dies, in pace commigrans.

Vision of a penitent coming in a ship.

CAP. XXXI.

DE CAILTANO EIUS MONACHO SANCTI PROPHETATIO VIRI.

Alio in tempore binos mittens monachos ad suum alium monachum, nomine Cailtanum[7], qui eodem tempore

[1] *sapientem virum*] *Saoi*, or sage, is an epithet applied to ecclesiastics in Irish annals.

[2] *portum*] Either Port-Ronain, which is the present usual landing-place, or Port-na-Mairtear, the Martyr's Bay.

[3] *coram omnibus*] Confession was public rather than private, optional rather than obligatory, and absolution was deferred till penance had been fulfilled. There is no trace of its being held to be necessary before celebrating or communicating (Warren, Intr. ch. ii, § 35).

[4] *spernit*] 'Non *despicies*' in Ps. l. (li) 18, Vulg.

[5] *Campo Lunge*] a subordinate monastery, probably adjacent to the little creek called *Port-na-lung*, in *Ethica terra* (Tiree) where Soroby now is.

[6] *praepositum*] That Baithene was at the head of this penitential house (see ii. 39) appears again in ch. 41 and iii. 8. See above, Intr. viii. § 1.

[7] *Cailtanum*] Cailtan, a monk presiding over Diuni's cell (on Loch Awe?).

praepositus erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adhaerens Abae fluminis [1], haec per eosdem nuncios Sanctus commendat verba: 'Cito euntes ad Cailtanum properate, dicitoteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula.' Qui, verbo Sancti obsecuti exeuntes, et ad cellam Diuni pervenientes, suae legatiunculae qualitatem Cailtano intimaverunt. Qui eadem hora, nullo demoratus modo, Sancti prosecutus legatos, ad eum in Ioua insula commorantem, eorum itineris comes, celeriter pervenit. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum taliter locutus, his compellat verbis, 'O Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me obedienter festinando: requiesce paulisper. Idcirco ad te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hic mecum in vera finias obedientia vitae cursum tuae. Nam ante huius hebdomadis finem ad Dominum in pace transibis.' Quibus auditis, gratias agens Deo, Sanctumque lacrymans exosculatus, ad hospitium, accepta ab eo benedictione, pergit: eademque subsecuta infirmatus nocte, iuxta verbum Sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum Dominum migravit.

Prophecy of the death of Cailtan.

CAP. XXXII.

DE DUOBUS PEREGRINIS FRATRIBUS SANCTI PROVIDA PROPHETATIO VIRI.

QUADAM Dominica die ultra saepe memoratum clamatum est fretum. Quem audiens Sanctus clamorem, ad fratres qui ibidem inerant, 'Ite, ait, celeriter, peregrinosque de longinqua venientes regione ad nos ocius adducite.' Qui continuo obsecuti, transfretantes adduxerunt hospites: quos Sanctus exosculatus, consequenter de causa percontatur itineris. Qui respondentes aiunt, 'Ut hoc etiam anno apud te peregrinemur, venimus.' Quibus Sanctus hanc dedit responsionem: 'Apud me, ut dicitis, anni unius spatio peregrinari non poteritis, nisi prius monachicum promiseritis votum.' Quod qui inerant praesentes valde

Vision of the coming of two strangers,

[1] *Abae fluminis*] Probably Loch Awe is meant. See Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 327. In iii. 14 we have *Nisae fluminis lacus*, which was certainly Loch Ness.

mirati sunt ad hospites eadem hora adventantes dici. Ad quae Sancti verba senior respondens frater ait, 'Hoc in mente propositum, licet in hanc horam usque nullatenus habuerimus, tamen tuum sequemur consilium, divinitus, ut credimus, inspiratum.' Quid plura? Eodem horae momento oratorium cum Sancto ingressi, devote, flexis genibus, votum monachiale voverunt[1]. Sanctus tum deinde, ad fratres conversus, ait, 'Hi duo proselyti vivam Deo seipsos exhibentes hostiam, longaque in brevi Christianae tempora militiae complentes, hoc nox eodem mense ad Christum Dominum in pace transibunt.' Quibus auditis ambo fratres, gratias Deo agentes, ad hospitium deducti sunt: interiectisque diebus septem, senior frater coepit infirmari, et, eadem peracta septimana, ad Dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post septem alios dies infirmatus, eiusdem in fine hebdomadis, ad Dominum feliciter transit. Et sic secundum Sancti veridicam prophetiam, intra eiusdem mensis terminum, ambo praesentem finiunt vitam.

and prophecy of their death.

CAP. XXXIII.

DE QUODAM ARTBRANANO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Cum per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scia[2] vir beatus, alicuius loci terrulam mari vicinam baculo percutiens, ad comites sic ait, 'Mirum dictu, O filioli! hodie in hac huius loci terrula quidam gentilis[3] senex, naturale per totam bonum[4] custodiens vitam, et baptizabitur, et morietur, et sepelietur.' Et ecce, quasi post unius intervallum horae, navicula ad eundem supervenit portum; cuius in prora quidam advectus est decrepitus senex, Geonae primarius cohortis[5], quem bini

Prophecy of an aged heathen.

[1] *voverunt*] The novitiate appears to have been dispensed with in this case.

[2] *Scia insula*] The isle of Skye.

[3] *gentilis*] Applied to the heathen Picts in ch. 37, ii. 11 *bis*, 27, 33; so *gentilicus*, ii. 34, iii. 14.

[4] *naturale . . . bonum*] The moral law of nature, i. e. of the natural reason; so again in iii. 14. Cp. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

[5] *Geonae cohortis*] Probably a Pictish corps deriving its name from some place unknown; the little island of Gunna, between Tiree and Coll, seems too small.

iuvenes, de navi sublevantes, ante beati conspectum viri deponunt. Qui statim, verbo Dei a Sancto per interpretem [1] recepto, credens, ab eodem baptizatus est, et post expleta baptizationis ministeria, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum acervo [2] sepeliunt. Qui hodieque in ora cernitur [3] maritima; fluviusque eiusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat, ex nomine eius, Dobur Artbranani [4] usque in hodiernum nominatus diem, ab accolis [5] vocitatur.

CAP. XXXIV.

DE NAVICULA TRANSMUTATA [6] SANCTO PRAECIPIENTE.

Alio in tempore trans Britanniae Dorsum [7] iter agens,

[1] *per interpretem*] St. Columba would seem not to have acquired the Pictish language at this time. We have seen how at the court of King Brude he at first availed himself of the help of friends who were Irish Picts. Introd. vii. § 3. We find a reference to the same diversity of tongues in ii. 32. Bede states the five written languages of Britain to be 'Anglorum, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum' (*H. E.* i. 1), and the four spoken tongues to be 'Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum' (Ib. iii. 6). Some of the Saxon Chronicles speak of English, Brit-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Book-Latin. In the Amhra of Columcille is a stanza referring to the labours of the Saint for thirty years among 'the people of Alba to the Ictian Sea (British Channel), The Gaedhil, Cruithneans, Saxons, Saxo-Brits.'

[2] *lapidum acervo*] This example of Christian burial in a cairn is remarkable, but it is to be noted that the old man was buried by his comrades, who may be supposed to have been heathens. The same custom however still survives in Ireland, for in many parts they make a cairn over the spot where any one has come to an untimely end, and every one who passes is expected to add a stone, as in N. Lincolnshire, c. 1840. But there are other early Christian examples, as in Tirechan (Stokes, *Trip.* 322), 'Et sepeliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum, id est *Totmâel*, et congregauit lapides erga sepulcrum,' and the epitaph 'Carautius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum' (*sic*) (Hübner, *Insc. Chr.* No. 136).

[3] *cernitur*] Sepulchral barrows were usually placed in the most conspicuous situations available.

[4] *Dobur Artbranani*] An unidentified rivulet in the Isle of Skye. Dobur is for Dobhar, *water*, both in Gaelic and Cymric; later Welsh, Dywr.

[5] *accolis*] Properly neighbours, but here and in ch. 35 used for resident inhabitants.

[6] *transmutata*] See Glossary.

[7] *Britanniae sive Britannicum Dorsum*] Drum-Alban, the mountain chain dividing Perthshire and Argyle, ending in the Grampian hills, and forming the backbone or waterparting of Scotland and the division between the Picts and the Scots.

aliquo in desertis viculo agellis reperto, ibidemque iuxta alicuius marginem rivuli stagnum [1] intrantis, Sanctus mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormientes, semisopore degustato, suscitat comites, dicens, 'Nunc, nunc, celerius foras exeuntes, nostram quam ultra rivum naviculam posuistis in domum [2], huc citius advehite [3], et in viciniore domuncula ponite.' Qui continuo obedientes, sicut eis praeceptum est, fecerunt; ipsisque iterum quiescentibus, Sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Diormitium pulsat [4], inquiens, 'Nunc, stans extra domum, aspice quid in illo agitur viculo ubi prius vestram posuistis naviculam.' Qui, Sancti praecepto obsecutus, domum egreditur, et respiciens videt vicum flamma instante totum concremari. Reversusque ad Sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit. Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit aemulo prosecutore qui easdem domus eadem incenderat nocte.

Foresight with regard to a boat.

CAP. XXXV.

DE GALLANO FILIO FACHTNI [5] QUI ERAT IN DIOECESI [6] COLGION FILII CELLAIG.

QUADAM itidem die Sanctus, in suo sedens tuguriolo [7], Colcio [8] eidem, lectitanti iuxta se, prophetizans ait, 'Nunc

[1] *stagnum*] The *Capitulationes*, p. 8, give the name as 'Stagnum Loch Diae,' which has not been identified unless it be Lochandu.

[2] *in domum*] Codd. B. and Cotton have the ordinary construction 'posuistis in domo.'

[3] *advehite*] A coracle could easily be carried about, and it would seem that in this case the party had one with them for crossing lakes and navigable rivers. On reaching this stream they either forded it at once, leaving the coracle behind them for the night, or else they sent it over beforehand, themselves remaining where they had arrived.

[4] *pulsat*] Nudges, to wake him up.

[5] *De Gallano filio Fachtni*] A local administrator in connexion with Iona.

[6] *dioecesi*] There were no episcopal dioceses in Ireland at this time. *Dioecesis* here denotes the district or province under the charge of a local administrator acting under the superior of the mother church in a large monastic missionary system. Colga may or may not have been a bishop.

[7] *tuguriolo*] See above, p. 37 n.

[8] *Colcio*] Colcius, Colgu, or Colga, son of Cellach, presided over the district, apparently with Gallanus under him. Colgion and Cellaig (in the heading) are Irish genitives.

unum tenacem[1] primarium de tuae praepositis[2] dioeceseos daemones ad inferna rapiunt.' At vero hoc audiens Colcius tempus et horam in tabula[3] describens, post aliquot menses ad patriam reversus, Gallanum filium Fachtni eodem horae momento obiisse, ab accolis eiusdem regionis percunctatus, invenit, quo vir beatus eidem a daemonibus raptum enarravit.

Vision of a soul carried off by demons.

CAP. XXXVI.

BEATI PROPHETATIO VIRI DE FINDCHANO PRESBYTERO, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORE QUOD SCOTICE ARTCHAIN[4] NUNCUPATUR, IN ETHICA TERRA.

Alio in tempore supra memoratus[5] presbyter Findchanus, Christi miles, Aidum cognomento Nigrum[6], regio genere ortum, Cruthinicum gente, de Scotia ad Britanniam sub clericatus habitu[7] secum adduxit, ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot peregrinaretur annos. Qui scilicet Aidus Niger valde sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator; qui et Diormitium filium Cerbulis, totius Scotiae regnatorem[8], Deo auctore ordinatum, interfecerat. Hic itaque idem Aidus, post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus[9],

Prophecy of two dreadful deaths.

[1] *tenacem*] Grasping, as an unprincipled person in his position might easily be.

[2] *praepositis*] It is not clear how far *primarius* and *praepositus* were synonymous; a *praepositus* was the head of a cell (i. 30, 31), a *primarius* seems to have been the same, perhaps with some supremacy or jurisdiction over other *praepositi*.

[3] *tabula*] Probably a *tabula cerata*. See Intr. iv. § 13.

[4] *Artchain*] Ard chaoin, 'altitudo magna,' a hill in Tiree not now identified.

[5] *supra memoratus*] I. e. in the heading, as frequently.

[6] *Aidum Nigum*] Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne; he was chieftain of the Dal Araidhe in 565, king of Uladh 581, and died 588.

[7] *habitu*] The Irish annals contain many instances of royal persons taking the monastic habit; note that in this case it was only for a time, as a penance.

[8] *regnatorem*] Monarch of all Ireland, whose regal seat was at Tara, and who was superior over the kings of the provinces, as they were over the chieftains or petty 'kings' under them.

[9] *tempus*] Seven years was the prescribed time in Ireland for penance 'sub regula monasterii' after homicide (D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ix. 16, Par. 1669). The same period is mentioned in ii. 39.

accito episcopo[1], quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbyter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput eius manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter[2] amans, suam capiti eius pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram. Quae talis ordinatio cum postea sancto intimaretur viro, aegre tulit: tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquiens, 'Illa manus dextra quam Findchanus, contra fas, et ius ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet[3], et, post magnos dolorum cruciatus, ipsum in terram sepelienda praecedet; et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebite Aidus, sicuti canis, ad vomitum revertetur suum, et ipse rursum sanguilentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea iugulatus, de ligno in aquam cadens, submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitae, qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiae.' Quae beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est; nam presbyteri Findchani dexter per pugnum putrefactus in terram eum praecessit, in illa sepultus insula quae Ommon[4] nuncupatur: ipse vero, iuxta verbum Sancti Columbae, per multos post vixit annos. Aidus vero Niger, solummodo nomine presbyter, ad sua priora reversus scelera, dolo lancea transfixus, de prora ratis in aquam lapsus stagneam, disperiit[5].

[1] *accito episcopo*] It was of course impossible to ordain a presbyter without a bishop, though, as now, the act of the bishop was 'with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.'

[2] *carnaliter*] With mere human affection. Cp. 2 Cor. v. 16.

[3] *computrescet*] 'The notion was probably borrowed from Job xxxi. 22, and was very general among the Irish'; (Reeves, who gives several instances). One place where a hand was buried was called *Carn-lamha*, the cairn of the hand.

[4] Possibly 'Sanda near the Mull of Kintyre, the old name of which was Avoyn.' Skene, in Reeves, 1874, p. 328.

[5] *disperiit*] This death of Aedh Dubh (A.D. 588) is mentioned in all the principal Irish Annals. The lake was probably Lough Neagh.

CAP. XXXVII.

DE QUODAM SANCTI SOLAMINE SPIRITUS MONACHIS IN VIA LABORIOSIS MISSO.

Spiritual comfort felt by the harvest men.

INTER has praedicabiles prophetici spiritus prophetationes, non ab re videtur etiam de quadam spiritali consolatione nostris commemorare literulis, quam aliquando sancti Columbae monachi, spiritu eius ipsis in via obviante, sentiebant. Alio namque in tempore, fratres, post messionis opera, vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes locum qui Scotice nuncupatur Cuuleilne [1], qui utique locus inter occidentalem Iouae insulae campulum [2] et nostrum monasterium medius esse dicitur, mirum quid et inconsuetum singuli sibi sentire videbantur: quod tamen alius alii intimare nullo modo audebat. Et sic per aliquot dies eodem in loco, eademque vespertina sentiebant hora. Fuit autem iisdem in diebus sanctus Baitheneus inter eos operum dispensator [3], qui sic ad ipsos alia die est prolocutus, inquiens, 'Nunc, fratres, confiteri debetis singuli, si aliquod in hoc medio loco inter messem et monasterium, inconsuetum et inopinatum sentitis miraculum.' Unus tum ex eis senior, 'Iuxta tuam,' ait, 'iussionem, quod mihi hoc in loco ostensum est dicam; nam et in his praetereuntibus dieculis, et nunc etiam, quandam miri odoris fragrantiam ac si universorum florum [4] in unum sentio collectorum; quendam quoque quasi ignis ardorem, non poenalem, sed quodammodo suavem: sed et quandam in corde insuetam et incomparabilem infusam laetificationem, quae me subito mirabiliter consolatur, et in tantum laetificat ut nullius maeroris, nullius laboris, meminisse possim. Sed

[1] *Cuuleilne*] Not precisely identified.

[2] *campulum*] The *Machar* or plain, the most level and productive part of the island. See ii. 28, iii. 16.

[3] *dispensator*] At other times Baithene was head of a monastic house in Tiree, but at this time he seems to have been holding an office in Iona.

[4] *florum*] Cf. *Vit. Tripart. S. Patr.* iii. 104; (ed. Stokes) p. 255; *Vit. a Jocelino*, cap. 192. A miraculous fragrance is often mentioned in connexion with the tombs of Saints.

et onus quod meo, quamvis grave, porto in dorso, ab hoc loco usque quo ad monasterium perveniatur, quomodo nescio, in tantum relevatur, ut me oneratum non sentiam.' Quid plura? Sic omnes illi messores operarii de se singillatim profitentur per omnia sensisse, sicuti unus ex eis coram enarraverat, singulique simul flexis genibus a sancto postularunt Baitheneo ut eiusdem miri solaminis causam et originem, quod et ipse, sicut et ceteri sentiebant, illis ignorantibus, intimare procuraret. Quibus consequenter hoc dedit responsum, 'Scitis,' inquiens, 'quod noster senior Columba de nobis anxie cogitet, et nos ad se tardius pervenientes aegre ferat, nostri memor laboris, et idcirco quia corporaliter obviam nobis non venit, spiritus eius nostris obviat gressibus, qui taliter nos consolans laetificat.' Quibus auditis verbis, ingeniculantes, cum ingenti gratulatione, expansis ad caelum manibus, Christum in sancto venerantur et beato viro.

St. Columba's far-reaching voice.

Sed et hoc silere non debemus quod ab expertis quibusdam de voce beati psalmodiae viri indubitanter traditum est. Quae scilicet vox venerabilis viri in ecclesia cum fratribus decantantis, aliquando per quatuor stadia, hoc est, quingentos passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est, mille passus [1], incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur. Mirum dictu! Nec in auribus eorum qui secum in ecclesia stabant vox eius modum humanae vocis in clamoris granditate excedebat. Sed tamen eadem hora qui ultra mille passuum longinquitatem stabant, sic clare eandem audiebant vocem, ut illos quos canebat versiculos etiam per singulas possent distinguere syllabas: similiter enim eius vox in auribus prope et longe audientium personabat. Sed hoc de voce miraculum beati viri non semper, sed raro, accidisse comprobatur; quod tamen sine Divini Spiritus gratia nullo modo fieri potuisset.

[1] *mille passus*] In the ancient Irish Life in the Leabhar Breac, 31 b (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 478), the distance has grown to 1,500 paces, and that when Columba was a boy.

How it affected King Brude and his Druids.

Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando de tali et incomparabili vocis eius sublevatione iuxta Brudei regis munitionem[1] accidisse traditur. Nam ipse Sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra regis munitionem dum vespertinales Dei laudes[2] ex more celebraret, quidam magi, ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant, prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinae laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur populus. Quo comperto, Sanctus quadragesimum et quartum psalmum[3] decantare coepit, mirumque in modum ita vox eius in aere eodem momento instar alicuius formidabilis tonitrui elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

CAP. XXXVIII.

DE QUODAM DIVITE QUI LUGUDIUS CLODUS VOCITABATUR.

Prophecy of the death of a rich bad man.

Alio in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot Sanctus demoraretur dies, alium currui insidentem[4] videns clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat Campum Breg[5], primo interrogans de eo quis esset, hoc ab amicis eiusdem viri de eo accipit responsum ; 'Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe.' Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit, 'Non ita video ; sed homuncio miser et pauper, in die qua morietur, tria

[1] *Brudei regis munitionem*] See above, Intr. vii. § 3, and lib. ii. 33, 35.

[2] *vespertinales laudes*] Called *vespertinalis missa* in iii. 23. On this occasion it would seem that Vespers were sung in the open air. See above, Intr. vii. § 3.

[3] *psalmum*] Ps. xlv. according to the Hebrew and English order ; *Eructavit cor meum.*

[4] *currui insidentem*] 'The memoirs of St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh make frequent mention of his chariot, and even name his driver (see Index to Tripartite, s.v. Chariot). St. Columba used such a conveyance in Ireland (ii. 43). On the ancient *currus* of the Irish, see O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptor.* iv. p. 148. A spirited drawing of an ancient car is given from a monument at Meigle in Chalmers' *Sculptured Monuments of Angus* (Pl. 18, Edinb. 1848),' Reeves. We find *currus vimineus*, and *currus duarum rotarum* in *Tr. Th.* 515, 517.

[5] *Campum Breg*] Magh Breg, a territory in Meath, the name of which has survived in that of 'Slieve Bregh,' a hill in NE. Meath.

apud se vicinorum praetersoria [1] in una retentabit [a] maceria [2], unamque electam de vaccis praetersoriorum occidi iubebit sibi, de cuius cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari, cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti. De qua utique particula morsum accipiens, statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur.' Quae omni, sicuti ab expertis traditur, iuxta Sancti propheticum adimpleta sunt verbum.

CAP. XXXIX.

DE NEMANO [3] FILIO GRUTHRICHE SANCTI PROPHETIA.

Nunc enim cum Sanctus de malis suis corriperet, parvipendens Sanctum subsannabat. Cui respondens vir beatus ait, 'In nomine Domini, Nemane, aliqua de te veridica loquar verba. Inimici tua reperient te in eodem cum meretrice cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis. Daemones quoque ad loca poenarum tuam rapient animam.' Hic idem Nemanus, post aliquot annos, in uno cum meretrice lectulo repertus in regione Cainle [4], iuxta verbum Sancti, ab inimicis decapitatus, disperiit.

The same of another bad man.

CAP. XL.

DE QUODAM PRESBYTERO SANCTI VIRI PROPHETATIO.

Alio in tempore Sanctus, cum in Scotiensium paulo superius moraretur memorata regione, casu Dominica die ad quoddam devenit vicinum monasteriolum quod Scotice Trioit [5] vocitatur. Eadem proinde die quendam audi-

[a] A. B. maneria *suo iure* Boll.

[1] *praetersoria*] Stray or trespassing animals?

[2] *maceria*] A cashel or walled enclosure. The kings of Cashel are styled *Reges Maceriae* in a charter of c. 1004 entered in the Book of Armagh, and the fortified farms of the Campagna in Italy are still known by the name of *Masseria*, Low Latin *Maseria*, and *Masura*, for *Mansura*.

[3] *Nemano*] The same name occurs at i. 21, ii. 4. The Four Masters mention Neman abbot of Lismore in Scotland in 610.

[4] *Cainle*] Not identified. Cp. ii. 17.

[5] *Trioit*] Trevet, in co. Meath. In an ancient historical tale it is stated that when Art was buried, three sods were dug in honour of the Trinity, and that hence the place was named. There are

ens [1] presbyterum sacra eucharistiae mysteria conficientem [2], quem ideo fratres, qui ibidem commanebant, ad missarum elegerant peragenda sollemnia, quia valde religiosum aestimabant, repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem, 'Munda et immunda pariter nunc permisceri cernuntur, hoc est, munda sacrae oblationis mysteria per immundum hominem ministrata, qui in sua interim conscientia aliquod grande occultat facinus.' Haec qui inerant audientes tremefacti nimis obstupuere. Ille vero de quo haec dicebantur verba coram omnibus [3] peccantiam compulsus est suam confiteri. Christique commilitones, qui in ecclesia Sanctum circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem, divinam in eo scientiam cum magna admiratione glorificarunt.

Denunciation of an unworthy priest.

CAP. XLI.

DE ERCO FURE MOCUDRUIDI [4] QUI IN COLOSO INSULA COMMANEBAT SANCTI PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

Alio in tempore Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula, accitis ad se binis de fratribus viris, quorum vocabula Lugbeus et Silnanus, eisdem praecipiens dixit, 'Nunc ad Maleam transfretate insulam, et in campulis mari vicinis Ercum quaerite furacem ; qui nocte praeterita solus occulte de insula Coloso [5] perveniens, sub sua faeno tecta navicula inter arenarum cumulos per diem se occultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvam transnaviget insulam [6] ubi marini nostri iuris vituli [7]

Prophecy regarding a certain poacher.

many such triple combinations in Irish place-names, supposed to have reference to the Trinity. See Joyce, *Irish Names*, 1891, vol. i. pp. 133, 261.

[1] *quendam audiens*] Implying that the service was in an audible voice.

[2] *conficientem*] 'Conficere' is used in this connexion by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Heliodorum* and *Ep. ad Evangelum*) and was not uncommon. Reeves cites many instances at ch. 44.

[3] *coram omnibus*] See note on ch. 30.

[4] *Mocudruidi*] Mac-Ua-Druidi is an obscure tribe-name.

[5] *Coloso*] Colonsay, here probably the greater island of the same name.

[6] *insulam*] Reeves says most probably Erraid isle, about two miles SE. of Iona.

[7] *marini vituli*] So Pliny calls

generantur et generant; ut de illis furenter occisis edax valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum.' Qui, haec audientes, obsecuti emigrant, furemque in locis a Sancto praesignatis absconsum reperiunt, et ad Sanctum, sicut illis praeceperat, perduxerunt. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum dicit, 'Quare tu res alienas, divinum transgressus mandatum, saepe furaris? Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata.' Et haec dicens praecipit verveces occidi, et pro phocis dari misero furaci, ne vacuus ad sua remearet. Et post aliquantum tempus Sanctus, in spiritu vicinam furis praevidens mortem, ad Baitheneum eo in tempore praepositum commorantem in Campo Lunge mittit, ut eidem furi quoddam pingue pecus et sex modios [1] novissima mittat munera. Quibus a Baitheneo, sicut Sanctus commendaverat, transmissis, ea die inventus est morte subita praeventus furax misellus, et in exequiis [2] eius transmissa expensa sunt [a] xenia [3].

CAP. XLII.

DE CRONANO POETA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Alio in tempore, Sanctus cum iuxta Stagnum Cei [4], prope ostium fluminis quod latine Bos [5] dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos Scoticus poeta [6] devenit;

[a] A. C. F. S. exenia B. exennia D.

seals, and the same term is applied in the *Libellus de Ortu S. Cuthb.* xiv, xviii, rendered cele (and seele) calf in the Metrical Life. They are called *phocae* below. Seals were extensively used for food in the Hebrides in the last century, the hams being considered the best portions.

[1] *sex modios*] So *bis terni* in ii. 3.

[2] *in exequiis eius*] The gifts of the Saint were consumed at the funeral feast of the marauding neighbour.

[3] *xenia*] properly gifts or presents made to a guest (*ξένος*), hence any present, particularly one of a customary or ceremonial kind, made whether from superiors to inferiors, or the reverse. In i. 50, we find St. Columba publicly blessing *xenia* sent in his honour, even *coram episcopo*. '*Exenium*,' see readings of Codd. B.D., is a form often found elsewhere.

[4] *Stagnum Cei*] Loch Ce, now Lough Key in co. Roscommon.

[5] *Bos*] At ii. 19 called Bo, Irish Buill, now Boyle, a river running from Lough Key to the Shannon.

[6] *Scoticus poeta*] An Irish Bard. The Bards are regarded by the

qui, cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad Sanctum, 'Cur,' aiunt, 'a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more suae artis canticum non postulasti modulabiliter[1] decantari?' Quibus Sanctus, 'Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem laetitiae, qui nunc, ab inimicis trucidatus, finem ad usque ocius pervenit vitae.' His a Sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamitat homo dicens, 'Ille poeta, qui a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est.' Omnes tunc qui praesentes inerant valde mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupuere.

Prophecy of the death of an Irish bard.

CAP. XLIII.

DE DUOBUS TIGERNIS[2] SANCTI VATICINATIO VIRI, QUI AMBO MUTUIS VULNERIBUS DISPERIERANT.

Alio itidem in tempore, Sanctus in Ioua conversans insula, repente inter legendum summo, cum ingenti admiratione, gemitu ingemuit maesto. Quod videns, qui praesens inerat, Lugbeus Mocublai[3], coepit ab eo percunctari subiti causam maeroris. Cui Sanctus, valde maestificatus, hanc dedit responsionem, 'Duo quidam nunc regii generis viri in Scotia mutuis inter se vulneribus transfixi disperierunt, haud procul a monasterio quod dicitur Cellrois[4], in provincia

Vision of a mortal combat between two chieftains.

old Irish historians as the representatives in the Irish Church of the old Pagan *magi* or druids. See above, Intr. i. § 8.

[1] *modulabiliter*] 'Cum modulatione,' (iii. 12 understood by some of harp accompaniment, but in iii. 12 at any rate the musical intonation or chant used in the mass, and so probably any melody. The songs of the bards were usually accompanied. See above, Intr. i. § 8 n.

[2] *Tigernis*] An Irish word with a Latin inflection. The Irish *tigherna*, a chieftain, is connected with *tig*, a house, as *dominus* with *domus*.

[3] *Lugbeus Mocublai*] Lugbe of the tribe Mocublai (Mac-Ua-Blae); Lugneus Mocublai occurs iii. 15, 22.

[4] *Cellrois*] Now Magheross in Monaghan. 'Kylrose it hat as Ik hard say.' Barbour, *Bruce*, x. 252.

Maugdornorum[1], octavaque die, hac peracta hebdomade, ultra fretum alius clamitabit, qui haec, de Hibernia veniens, ita taliter facta enarrabit. Sed hoc, O filiole, quamdiu vixero nemini indices.' Octava proinde ultra fretum clamatum est die. Sanctus tum supra memoratum ad se Lugbeum vocans, silenter ad eum ait, 'Qui nunc clamitat ultra fretum ipse est, de quo tibi prius dixeram, longaevus viator. Vade, et adduc eum ad nos.' Qui, celeriter adductus, inter cetera hoc etiam retulit, Duo, inquiens, in parte Maugdornorum nobiles viri, se mutuo vulnerantes, mortui sunt; hoc est, Colman Canis[2], filius Aileni, et Ronanus[3] filius Aido filii Colgen, de Anteriorum[4] genere, prope fines illorum locorum, ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur Cellrois. Post haec illius verba narrationis, idem Lugbeus, Christi miles, Sanctum seorsum coepit interrogare, dicens, 'Quaeso mihi de his talibus narres propheticis revelationibus quomodo, si per visum tibi, an auditu, an alio hominibus incognito, manifestantur modo.' Ad haec Sanctus, 'De qua nunc,' ait, 'inquiris valde subtili re nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam potero, nisi prius, flexis genibus, per nomen excelsi Dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc te obscurissimum sacramentum[5] nulli unquam hominum cunctis

Lugbe questions the saint, who binds him to secrecy,

[1] *Maugdornorum*] The Maugdorni were a tribe descended from Mughdorn dubh, whence Crich Mughdorna, a territory in Monaghan, now Cremorne and Farney.

[2] *Colman Canis*] A nobleman otherwise unknown. *Cu*, canis, frequently occurs in Irish names.

[3] *Ronanus*] Another unknown chieftain.

[4] *Anteriorum*] Anteriores is the name given by Adamnan to the Airtheara (Easterns, a tribe inhabiting the territory afterwards known as East Oriel or Uriel (anciently Airghialla) in Ulster. See Indairthir, iii. 7. Reeves cites here many passages from Irish writers which show that they, like the Hebrews, regarded the cardinal points as having reference to the rising sun, and not, of course, to the magnetic needle, of which they knew nothing. Thus *Anterior* Irish *Airthir*, Hebrew קדם) is equivalent to *Orientalis*. Hence W., S., N., were back, right, left. See Ussher's *Wks.* v. 103, vi. 114. 187; Zeuss, *Gr. Celt.* 67 n., 283, 566.

[5] *sacramentum*] Here and in ch. 50, and iii. 6, 7, 22, 'a holy secret.' 'Aliquando dicitur Sacramentum, quasi sacrum secretum, velut Sacramentum Incarnationis et huiusmodi.'—Hugo de S. Victor, cited by Ducange.

diebus vitae meae enarraturum.' Qui, haec audiens, flexit continuo genua, et, prostrato in terram vultu, iuxta Sancti praeceptionem plene omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione, Sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit, 'Sunt nonnulli, quamlibet pauci admodum, quibus divina hoc contulit gratia, ut etiam totum totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu oceani et caeli, uno eodemque momento, quasi sub uno solis radio, mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu, clare et manifestissime speculentur.' Hoc miraculum Sanctus, quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de seipso tamen dixisse, per obliquum licet, nullus dubitare debet qui Paulum legit Apostolum, vas electionis, de talibus narrantem sibi revelatis visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit, 'Scio me,' sed, '*Scio hominem, raptum usque ad tertium caelum*[1].' Quod quamlibet de alio dicere videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria, humilitatem custodiens, enarrare persona. Quem etiam et noster Columba in spiritalium visionum narratione secutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir, quem plurimum Sanctus amabat, magnis precibus praemissis, vix potuit extorquere, sicut ipse coram aliorum personis sanctorum, post sancti Columbae transitum, testatus est: a quibus haec quae de Sancto supra narravimus indubitanter didicimus.

and explains his visions.

CAP. XLIV.

DE CRONANO[2] EPISCOPO.

ALIO in tempore, quidam de Muminensium[3] provincia proselytus ad Sanctum venit; qui se in quantum potuit occultabat humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus: sed tamen Sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die

[1] *caelum*] 2 Cor. xii. 2, on which the Irish commentator Sedulius remarks, 'Hoc de se humilitatis causa, quasi in alterius persona loquitur.' (*In S. Pauli Epp.* p. 276, Basil, 1538; Migne, tom. ciii.)

[2] *Cronano*] Possibly the Cronan mentioned by Colgan, Feb. 9, p. 302.

[3] *Muminensium*] The Muminenses were the men of Munster. See note on *Laginensium*, i. 2.

Dominica a Sancto iussus[1] Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri[2], Dominicum panem frangerent[3]. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem eius, sic eum compellat, 'Benedicat te Christus, frater; hunc solus, episcopali ritu[4], frange panem: nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es, ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio[5]?' Quo audito Sancti verbo, humilis peregrinus, valde stupefactus, Christum in Sancto veneratus est; et qui inerant praesentes nimis admirati, glorificarunt Dominum.

Detection of a bishop who concealed his rank.

CAP. XLV.

DE ERNANO PRESBYTERO SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Alio itidem in tempore, vir venerandus Ernanum[6] presbyterum, senem, suum avunculum, ad praeposituram illius monasterii transmisit quod in Hinba insula ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum

Prophecy of the death of Ernan.

[1] *iussus*] 'Bidden' or invited to celebrate, according to the direction of the Council of Arles, 'ut peregrino episcopo locus sacrificandi detur,' and of the fourth Council of Carthage to the same effect.

[2] *duo presbyteri*] It appears to have been usual at Iona for two priests to act as concelebrants. See Warren, 128, § 19.

[3] *frangerent*] The scriptural expression here and below probably has a special reference to the Eucharistic fraction, or it may be simply a synonym for celebrating.

[4] *episcopali ritu*] A bishop seems to have always celebrated *solus*, without a concelebrant, unless, perhaps, if another bishop were present. The exact contrary was formerly the rule in the Latin Church, namely that when a bishop celebrated any priests present should unite with him in the words of consecration and in the manual acts (Martène, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 8. Amalarius, i. cap. 12). This practice survives in the Roman ordination of priests, at which the newly ordained are concelebrants.

[5] *veneratio*] Taking this chapter with ch. 36, and with ii. 1, nothing can be plainer than that St. Columba fully recognized the three distinct orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, and considered that the proper function of a bishop was to confer Holy Orders, and that a bishop or a priest could celebrate, while a deacon could only provide the elements for the celebration, and, moreover, that he considered the greatest veneration to be due to the episcopal order as higher than his own.

[6] *Ernanum*] 'Ernanus presbyter' is mentioned in the Epilogus of Cod. B. as 'sancti avunculus

ipsum Sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret, hoc de eo intulit vaticinium, dicens, 'Hunc meum nunc egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc saeculo viventem visurum.' Itaque idem Ernanus post non multos dies, quadam molestatus aegrimonia, ad Sanctum volens reportatus est: cuius in perventione valde gavisus, ire obvius ad portum coepit. Ipse vero Ernanus, quamlibet infirmis, propriis tamen, vestigiis a portu obviare Sancto conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi viginti quatuor passuum intervallum, subita morte praeventus, priusquam Sanctus faciem eius videret viventis, expirans in terram cecidit, ne verbum Sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante ianuam canabae[1] crux[2] infixa est, et altera ubi Sanctus restitit, illo expirante, similiter crux hodieque infixa stat.

CAP. XLVI.

DE ALICUIUS PLEBEII FAMILIOLA SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Alio quoque in tempore, quidam inter ceteros ad Sanctum plebeius venit in loco hospitantem qui Scotice vocitatur Coire Salchain[3]; quem cum Sanctus ad se vespere venientem

Columbae,' and one of his twelve followers; he was a brother of Ethnea, the mother of the saint.

[1] *canaba*] A kiln 'ad spicas siccandas et triturandas,' *Vit. S. Kannechi*, c. 33, cited by Reeves here. It further appears from the Life of St. Kiaran, c. 12, that he saw 'zabulum super ripam fluminis (the Shannon) et erat in eo rota de virgis contexta plena spicis igni supposita, ut siccarentur ad triturandum secundum morem occidentalium, i.e. Britanniae et Hyberniae,' and that a *navicula* was placed *in canabam* for repairs.

[2] *crux*] The cross called 'Macleane's' may mark the site. We are told in iii. 23 of a cross fixed up in a millstone by the wayside; it has always been usual to mark memorable spots by setting up crosses. So in the Life of St. Patrick 'ubi nunc usque crux habetur in signum.' (*Tripartite*, 276; *Anal. Boll.* i. 559). Hence the great number of places in Ireland that have taken their names from crosses, over 200 altogether, most of which commemorate the erection of crosses, though a few may be from cross-roads or a transverse position. (Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. 327). Sometimes a wooden cross was set up, as by St. Oswald (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2), and where St. Wilfrid's body was washed (*Offices of St. W.*, Ripon, 1893, p. 27).

[3] *Coire Salchain*] The term *Coire*, a cul-de-sac or hollow in a mountain, is almost peculiar to the Scotch Highlands, and there are

vidisset, 'Ubi,' ait, 'habitas?' Ille inquit, 'In regione quae littoribus stagni Crogreth[1] est contermina ego inhabito.' 'Illam quam dicis provinciolam,' ait Sanctus, 'nunc barbari populantur vastatores.' Quo audito, miser plebeius maritam et filios deplangere coepit. Quem Sanctus valde maerentem videns, consolans inquit, 'Vade, homuncule[2], vade, tua familiola tota in montem fugiens evasit; tua vero omnia pecuscula secum invasores abegerunt, omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter saevi raptores cum praeda rapuere.' Haec audiens plebeius, ad patriam regressus, cuncta, sicuti a Sancto praedicta, sic invenit expleta.

Prophecy regarding a poor family.

CAP. XLVII.

DE QUODAM PLEBEIO, GOREO[3] NOMINE, FILIO AIDANI, SANCTI PROPHETIA VIRI.

Alio itidem in tempore quidam plebeius, omnium illius aetatis in populo [a]Korkureti[4] fortissimus virorum, a sancto percunctatur viro qua morte esset praeveniendus. Cui Sanctus, 'Nec in bello,' ait, 'nec in mari morieris: comes tui itineris, a quo non suspicaris, causa erit tuae mortis.' 'Fortassis,' inquit Goreus, 'aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet, aut marita ob alicuius iunioris viri amorem me maleficio mortificare.' Sanctus, 'Non ita,' ait, 'continget.' 'Quare,' Goreus inquit, 'de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis?' Sanctus, 'Idcirco,' ait, 'nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo nunc manifestius aliquid edicere,

Enigmatical prophecy of the death of a peasant.

[a] KOPKYPETI *literis maiusculis* A.

many Sallachans in the Highlands now, named from sallows.

[1] *Crogreth*] A lake not identified, unless it be Loch Creeran in Upper Lorne.

[2] *homuncule*] Note how many diminutives Adamnan uses while representing Columba as consoling the poor man with kind and endearing words. *Homuncule* is here something like the Durh. and Northd. 'Canny man,' or 'Canny bairn'; see *N. E. D.* s.v. *Canny*, 9.

[3] *Goreo*] Goreus probably represents the Irish Guire or Gowry.

[4] *Korkureti*] Possibly Corkaree, in Westmeath; if so, a form of *Corca Raidhe*, the race of Raidhe.

ne te eius crebra recogniti recordatio nimis maestificet, donec illa veniat dies qua eiusdem rei veritatem probabis.' Quid immoramur verbis? Post aliquot annorum excursus, idem supra memoratus Goreus, casu[1] alia die sub navi residens, cultello proprio cristiliam de hastili eradebat; tum deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens, citius surgit ut eos a belligeratione separaret, eodemque cultello illa subitatione negligentius in terra dimisso, eius genicula offenso graviter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite, causa ei mortificationis oborta est; quam ipse continuo, secundum sancti vaticinationem viri, mente perculsus, recognovit; postque aliquantos menses, eodem aggravatus dolore, moritur.

CAP. XLVIII.

DE ALIA ETIAM RE, QUAMLIBET MINORE, PUTO NON ESSE TACENDA SANCTI IUCUNDA PRAESCIENTIA, ET PROPHETIZATIO VIRI.

Prophecy of the arrival of a crane from Ireland.

ALIO namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in Ioua inhabitaret insula, unum de fratribus advocans, sic compellat, 'Tertia ab hac illucescente die expectare debebis in occidentali huius insulae parte, super maris oram sedens: nam de aquilonali Hiberniae regione quaedam hospita grus[2], ventis per longos aeris agitata circuitus, post nonam diei horam valde fessa et fatigata superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus, coram te in litore cadens recumbet; quam misericorditer sublevare curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, ibidemque hospitaliter receptam, per tres dies et noctes ei ministrans,

[1] *casu, etc.*] Render, 'by chance one day sitting by a boat, was scraping the bark (?) from a spear-shaft with his own knife . . . and, the same knife being carelessly left on the ground in that sudden movement, his knee was severely wounded by lighting on it' (kneeling on the edge). But see Glossary, s.vv. *Cristilia*, *Offensus*.

[2] *grus*] Giraldus mentions large flocks of cranes in Ireland, of 100 or so (*Topogr. Hib.* Dist. i, cap. 14). Reeves gives several references to legends of Irish Saints concerning their familiarity with cranes and other birds. But stories of favourite animals abound in the lives of the saints of all nations.

sollicite cibabis; et post expleto recreata triduo, nolens ultra apud nos peregrinari, ad priorem Scotiae dulcem, unde orta, remeabit regionem, plene resumptis viribus; quam ideo tibi sic diligenter commendo, quia de nostrae paternitatis regione est oriunda.' Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die post horam nonam, ut iussus, praescitae adventum praestolatur hospitae, adventantemque de littore levat lapsam, ad hospitium portat infirmam, esurientem cibat. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso Sanctus, non interrogans sed narrans, ait, 'Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, quia peregrinae bene ministrasti hospitae, quae in peregrinatione non demorabitur, sed post ternos soles ad patriam repedabit.' Quod ita ut Sanctus praedixit et res etiam probavit. Nam trinalibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro de terra se primum volando elevans in sublime, paulisperque in aere viam speculata, oceani transvadato aequore, ad Hiberniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo.

CAP. XLIX.

DE BELLO QUOD IN MUNITIONE CETHIRNI POST MULTO COMMISSUM EST TEMPORA, ET DE QUODAM FONTICULO EIUSDEM TERRULAE PROXIMO BEATI PRAESCIENTIA VIRI.

Prophecy of the defilement of a well by blood from a battle.

Alio in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in Dorso Cette condictum[1], Aidi videlicet filii Ainmurech, et Aidani filii Gabrani, ad campos reverteretur aequoreos, ipse ad Comgellus abbas[2] quadam serena aestivi temporis die, haud procul a supra memorata munitione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo ad Sanctos in aeneo defertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accepisset, ad abbatem Comgellum a latere se-

[1] *condictum*] Held A. D. 575. Intr. vii. § 4.

[2] *Comgellus abbas*] His tribe-name was Mocu Aridi (*Mac U Araidhe*). St. Comgall, founder and first abbot of Benchor or Bangor in Ulster, b. 517, founded Bangor 558, and a church in Tiree 565; he died 602, May 10, his day.

dentem sic profatur, 'Ille fonticulus, O Comgelle, de quo haec effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quando nullis usibus humanis aptus erit.' 'Qua causa,' ait Comgellus, 'eius fontana corrumpetur unda?' Sanctus tum Columba, 'Quia humano,' inquit, 'cruore replebitur: nam mei cognationales amici[1] et tui secundum carnem cognati[2], hoc est, Nellis Nepotes[3] et Cruthini populi, in hac vicina munitione Cethirni[4] belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorata fonte aliquis de mea cognatione trucidabitur homuncio, cuius cum ceteris interfecti sanguine eiusdem fonticuli locus replebitur.' Quae eius veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, Domnallus Aidi filius victor sublimatus est[5], et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo, quidam de parentela eius interfectus est homo. Alius mihi Adamnano[6] Christi miles, Finanus nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis iuxta Roboreti monasterium Campi irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello se praesente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque

[1] *cognationales amici*] St. Columba's family friends were the Northern Ui- or Hy-Neill, descended principally from Conall Gulban, whose great-grandson St. Columba was; their home was Tir-Connell, now Donegal.

[2] *secundum carnem cognati*] St. Comgall's relations were the Cruithne or Irish Picts or Dal-Araidhe, who inhabited the southern half of Antrim.

[3] *Nellis nepotes*] The Ui Neill, Hy Neill or O'Neills, the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland, A. D. 358–405. The southern O'Neills were descended from Niall's first wife (see *Cruithnii*, i. 7 n.), the northern from his second.

[4] *munitione Cethirni*] Dun Ceithirn, the fortress of Cethirn, identified with the Giant's Sconce, near Coleraine. Dr. Reeves gives an interesting account of this fortified hill, which once had 'a long gallery, formed against the side of the apex by large stones regularly laid, with an inclination inwards, and covered with cross flags . . . forty feet long by two broad, serving as a covered way and also as breast-work on the accessible side. The whole crest was enclosed by a cyclopean wall, of which some traces remain.' The gallery is now reduced to 'a great ridge of dry stones.'

[5] *victor sublimatus est*] Render 'came off victorious.' Domhnall was grandson of Ainmire, who was Columba's first cousin.

[6] *mihi Adamnano*] The writer was in his fifth year at the date of the battle of Dun Ceithirn, A. D. 629.

die ad monasterium sancti Comgelli quod Scotice dicitur Cambas[1] commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat, ibidemque duos sancti Comgelli senes monachos reperisse: quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter, 'Verus propheta Columba,' aiunt, 'qui haec omnia quae hodie de bello et de fonticulo expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura, nobis audientibus, coram sancto Comgello, iuxta Cethirni sedens munitionem, praenunciaverat.'

CAP. L.

DE DIVERSORUM DISCRETIONE XENIORUM SANCTO REVELATA VIRO DIALI GRATIA.

How St. Columba distinguished worthy and unworthy givers.

Eodem in tempore Conallus[2], episcopus Culerathin[3], collectis a populo Campi Eilni[4] paene innumerabilibus xeniis, beato viro hospitium praeparavit, post condictum supra memoratorum regum, turba prosequente multa, revertenti: proinde sancto advenienti viro xenia populi multa, in platea[5] monasterii strata, benedicenda assignantur. Quae cum benedicens aspiceret, xenium alicuius opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans, 'Virum,' ait, 'cuius est hoc xenium, pro misericordiis pauperum, et eius largitione, Dei comitatur misericordia.' Itemque aliud discernit inter alia multa xenium, inquiens, 'De hoc ego xenio viri sapientis[6] et avari

[1] *Cambas*] Otherwise Camas or Camus, a name common in Ireland and North Britain, from *Cam*, crooked, with formative *s* for abstract noun, hence a bend in a river or a curved bay. St. Comgall's monastery was named from the curve in the river Bann near which it was situated, two miles above Coleraine.

[2] *Conallus*] His date is not known.

[3] *Culerathin*] Cuil-rathain, *secessus filicis*, Fern cover, now Coleraine on the Bann, in Londonderry. For its legendary origin, see *Tripartite*, 167. Joyce mentions five other places whose names were originally the same, vol. i, p. 531.

[4] *Campi Eilni*] Magh Elne, between the rivers Bush and Bann, now nearly represented by the NE. Liberties of Coleraine.

[5] *platea*] The enclosed courtyard in which the isolated cells of a Celtic monastery stood. Intr. iv. § 2. Called *plateola* in iii. 6.

[6] *viri sapientis*] A sage or philosopher, Irish *saoi*.

nullo modo gustare possum, nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiae poenitudinem egerit.' Quod verbum cito in turba divulgatum audiens, accurrit Columbus filius Aidi conscius, et coram Sancto flexis genibus poenitentiam agit, et de cetero avaritiae abrenunciaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consecuturum. Et, iussus a Sancto surgere, ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens, sicuti Sancto in eius revelatum erat xenio. Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus nomine, de cuius xenio paulo superius[1] dictum est, audiens et ipse Sancti verba de se dicta, ingeniculans ad pedes Sancti, precatur ut pro eo ad Dominum Sanctus fundat precem: qui, ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis obiurgatus peccatis, poenitudinem gerens, de cetero se emendaturum promisit; et sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis.

Simili scientia Sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicuius tenacis viri, inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti nomine, ad Cellam Magnam Deathrib[2] in eius adventu collecta.

Haec de beati viri prophetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in huius libelli textu primi [a] caraxasse sufficiat. Pauca dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum quod valde numerosiora fuerint quae in notitiam hominum, sacramenta interius celata, venire nullo modo poterant, quam ea quae, quasi quaedam parva aliquando stillicidia, veluti per quasdam rimulas alicuius pleni vasis ferventissimo novo distillabant vino[3]. Nam sancti et apostolici viri, vanam evitantes gloriam, plerumque in quantum possunt interna quaedam arcana, sibi intrinsecus

The above are only a few instances of the Saint's prophetic gifts.

[a] B. craxasse A. exarasse Colg. Boll.

[1] *paulo superius*] In this same chapter, second sentence.

[2] *Cellam Magnam Deathrib*] Hib. *Cell-mor Dithribh*, Kilmore in Roscommon, on the Shannon, founded by St. Columba before he left Ireland.

[3] *vino*] This allusion to new wine bursting through the interstices of a cask is perhaps borrowed from some southern writer, or may be founded on what the writer knew of other fermenting liquors.

a Deo manifestata, celare festinant. Sed Deus nonnulla ex eis, velint nolint ipsi, divulgat, et in medium quoquo profert modo, videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes se Sanctos, hoc est, ipsum Dominum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum.

Huic primo libro hic imponitur terminus; nunc sequens orditur liber de virtutum miraculis, quae plerumque etiam prophetalis praescientia comitatur.

CAPITULA[1] SECUNDI LIBRI INCIPIUNT,

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS.

De vino quod de aqua factum est. (I.)
De amarissimis alicuius arboris pomis, in dulcedinem per Sancti benedictionem versis. (II.)
De terra, post medium aestatis tempus arata et seminata, mensis Augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem proferente. (III.)
De morbifera nube, et languentium sanitate. (IV.)
De Mauguina sancta virgine, et fractura coxae eius sanata. (V.)
De multorum morbis fimbriae vestimenti eius tactu, in Dorso Cete, sanatis. (VI.)
De petra salis a Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere non potuit. (VII.)
De librariis foliis manu Sancti scriptis, quae aqua nullo modo corrumpi potuere. (VIII, IX.)
De aqua, quae, Sancto orante, ex dura producta est petra. (X.)
De aqua fontana, quam Sanctus ultra Britannicum benedixit Dorsum, et sanavit. (XI.)
De Sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in tranquillitatem continuo, orante ipso, conversa. (XII.)
De altero eius periculo, et de sancto Cainnecho pro ipso et sociis eius orante. (XIII.)
De baculo in portu sancti Cainnechi neglecto. (XIV.)
De Baitheneo et Columbano filio Beognoi, qui a Sancto

[1] *Capitula*] These are supplied from Cod. B, as Cod. A has none for the second and third books. It will be seen by the numbers appended that they do not quite correspond with the order of the chapters, and that they are not expressed in the same words as are the titles.

secundum, eadem die, sed diversa via, ventum sibi dari postularunt. (xv.)

De daemonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat. (xvi.)

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus, lacte de masculo bove expresso, diabolica replevit arte; sed, Sancto orante, ipsum quod videbatur lac, in sanguinem, hoc est, in naturam propriam, versum est. (xvii.)

De Lugneo Mocumin, quem Sanctus de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro ex naribus eius profluebat, oratione et digitorum tactu sanavit. (xviii.)

De esoce magno in fluvio, iuxta verbum Sancti, invento. (xix.)

De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocatur Boo repertis. (xix[1].)

De quodam plebeio qui Nesanus Curvus dicebatur. (xx[2].)

De quodam divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigeno. (xx[2].)

De Columbano aeque plebeio viro, cuius pecora admodum pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum. (xxi.)

De interitu Johannis filii Conallis, eadem die qua Sanctum spernens dehonoravit. (xxii.)

De alicuius Feradachi morte, fraudulenti viri, a Sancto praenunciata. (xxiii.)

De alio persecutore, cuius nomen latine Manus Dextera dicitur. (xxiv.)

De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Laginensium provincia, sicut Annanias coram Petro, eodem momento, a Sancto terribiliter obiurgatus, cecidit mortuus. (xxv.)

De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus Dominicae crucis. (xxvi.)

De alia aquatili bestia, quae, eo orante, et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne Lugneo natanti vicino noceret. (xxvii.)

[1] This and the preceding title both belong to ch. xix.
[2] Both these titles belong to ch. xx.

De insulae Ionae[1] viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere. (XXVIII.)
De hasta ab eo signata, quae deinceps nullo modo, quamlibet fortiter impulsa, alicui potuit nocere animanti. (XXIX.)
De Diormiti aegrotantis sanitate. (XXX.)
De Fenteni filii Aido, in extremis positi, sanitate. (XXXI.)
De puero quem mortuum, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in regione Pictorum, suscitavit. (XXXII.)
De conflictu eius contra magum Broichanum, ob ancillae retentionem ; et de lapide quem Sanctus benedixit, qui in aqua quasi pomum supernatavit. (XXXIII.)
De beati viri contra Broichanum magum refragatione, et venti contrarietate. (XXXIV.)
De spontanea regiae munitionis portae subita apertione. (XXXV.)
De ecclesiae Duorum Agri Rivorum simili reclusione. (XXXVI.)
De alio paupere, plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus, sudem faciens benedixit, ad ferarum iugulationem silvestrium. (XXXVII.)
De utre lactario, quem unda maris abduxit, et reduxit ad terram. (XXXVIII.)
De Librano Harundineti sancti prophetatio viri. (XXXIX.)
De quadam muliercula, magnas et valde difficiliores parturitionis tortiones passa, et sanata. (XL.)
De coniuge Lugnei odiosi gubernatoris. (XLI.)
De Cormaco Nepote Lethani, et eius navigationibus, sancti Columbae prophetatio. (XLII.)
De venerabilis viri in curru evectione, absque currilium obicum communitione. (XLIII.)
De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, beati ob honorem viri, super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa. (XLIV.)

[1] The late MS. B (see p. 66 n.) always reads Iona, as here.

Miraculum quod nunc, Deo propitio, describere incipimus, nostris temporibus factum, propriis inspeximus oculis :
De ventorum flatibus contrariis, venerabilis viri virtute orationum, in secundos conversis ventos. (XLV.)
De mortalitate. (XLVI.)

EXPLICIUNT [1] CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI.

[1] *Expliciunt*] A barbarous plural of *Explicit*, which is really an abbreviation for *Explicitus*, 'formed, no doubt, as a pendant to *Incipit*.' A MS. Glossary, quoted by Ducange, says, 'Explicit, il est finis, Expliciunt, Eux sont finis, et se decline Explicit, Expliciunt, et non plus.' But *Exp'icui*, *Expliceat*, and *Explicuit* also occur. See Ducange, s.v., Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 1893, p. 59, and Madan, *MS. Books*, 1893, pp. 9, 46, 137.

[a] LIBER SECUNDUS

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS

CAP. I.

DE VINO QUOD DE AQUA FACTUM EST.

Cummian, IV.

Turning of water into wine.

Alio in tempore, cum vir venerandus in Scotia apud sanctum Findbarrum episcopum, adhuc iuvenis, sapientiam sacrae Scripturae addiscens[1], commaneret, *quadam solenni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu* aliquo minime *inveniebatur: de cuius defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacrae Eucharistiae ministeria aquam*[2], quasi *diaconus, fontanam*

[a] *titulus deest* A. incipit secundus liber de virtutum miraculis quae plenissime plerumque etiam praescientia prophetalis comitatur B. incipit liber secundus de virtutum miraculis C. F. S. sancti columbe *add.* D.

[1] *addiscens*] If the Findbarrus of the text be St. Finnian of Moville, which seems probable, it is to this period that the legend of the 'son-book' (Intr. vi. § 6) relates. In the life of St. Fintan is a story of this same St. Finnian refusing to lend him a copy of the Gospels (Colg. *Acta SS.* pp. 11 *a*, 643 *b*). But St. Finnian of Clonard was also a famous teacher of scripture, and this chapter may relate to St. Columba's sojourn with him, though the word *iuvenis*, used below, points rather to the earlier period, and the ancient Irish Life connects the turning of water into wine with St. Finnian of Moville. Dr. Reeves, in his note here, has collected a number of references to legends of water turned into wine, honey, milk, beer, etc.

[2] *aquam*] Note that the early Irish Church, in common with the rest of Christendom, used the mixed chalice, on which see Martène, *Ant. Eccl. Rit.* I. iii. 7; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* XV. ii. 7. It is three times mentioned in Justin

hauriret: ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Vir itaque beatus aquaticum, quod de latice hausit, elementum[1], invocato nomine Domini Iesu Christi, fideliter benedixit, qui in Cana Galileae aquam in vinum convertit: quo etiam in hoc operante miraculo, inferior, hoc est aquatica natura, in gratiorem, videlicet vinalem, per manus praedicabilis viri conversa est speciem[2]. Vir itaque sanctus, a fonte reversus, et ecclesiam intrans, talem iuxta altare urceum intra se habentem deponit liquorem; et ad ministros, '*Habetis*,' *ait*, '*vinum, quod Dominus* Iesus *ad sua misit peragenda mysteria.*' *Quo cognito, sanctus cum ministris episcopus eximias Deo referunt grates. Sanctus vero iuvenis hoc non sibimet, sed sancto Vinniano adscribebat episcopo.* Hoc itaque protum[3] virtutis documentum Christus Dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem re, initium ponens signorum in Cana Galileae, operatus est per semet-ipsum.

Huius, inquam, libelli, quasi quaedam lucerna, illustret exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale[4] manifestatum est miraculum; ut deinceps transeamus ad cetera, quae per ipsum ostensa sunt, virtutum miracula.

Martyr's account of the Eucharist, and alluded to in the Clementine Liturgy as well as by Irenaeus, evidently as the only usage known. It was in fact universal for the first 1,500 years after Christ, except in Armenia.

[1] *elementum*] In ancient and mediaeval philosophy the elements were believed to be, earth, water, air, and fire, and this appears to be the meaning here. The now common Eucharistic employment of the word seems to have arisen out of the late Latin application of it to food and drink.

[2] *speciem*] Note here an early application of this term to one of the Eucharistic elements.

[3] *protum*] Gr. πρῶτον. *Protum* is the reading of MS. F. MS. A., Colgan, and the Bollandists have *pro tum*; C. has *primum*, and D. *promptum*. *Protum* is doubtless the right reading, and would be suggested by St. John ii. 11.

[4] *diale*] See p. 14 n.

CAP. II.

DE ALICUIUS ARBORIS FRUCTU AMARO PER SANCTI BENEDICTIONEM IN DULCEDINEM VERSO.

Changing bitter apples to sweet.

QUAEDAM arbor erat valde pomosa prope monasterium Roboris Campi, in australi eius parte; de qua cum incolae loci quoddam haberent pro nimia fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die Sanctus ad eam accessit autumnali tempore, vidensque lignum incassum abundos habere fructus qui ex eis gustantes plus laederent quam delectarent; sancta elevata manu, benedicens ait, 'In nomine omnipotentis Dei omnis tua amaritudo, O arbor amara, a te recedat; tuaque huc usque amarissima nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma.' Mirum dictu, dicto citius, eodemque momento, eiusdem arboris omnia poma, amissa amaritudine, in miram, secundum verbum Sancti, versa sunt dulcedinem[1].

CAP. III.

DE SEGETE POST MEDIUM AESTATIS TEMPUS SEMINATA, ET IN EXORDIO AUGUSTI MENSIS, SANCTO ORANTE, MESSA, IN IOUA CONVERSANTE INSULA.

Procuring rapid growth of corn.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus suos misit monachos ut de alicuius plebeii agellulo virgarum fasciculos[2] ad hospitium afferrent construendum. Qui cum ad Sanctum, oneraria repleta navi[3] de supradictis virgularum materiis, reversi venirent, dicerentque

[1] *dulcedinem*] A similar story is told of St. Mochoemoc. Colg. *Acta SS.* p. 593 *b*.

[2] *virgarum fasciculos*] Faggots for wattled buildings. Reeves in his note here gives a number of quotations illustrating this way of construction, to which may be added the notice of the Wand Kirk or Church of boughs at Durham in Symeon (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* III. i.), 'factaque citissime de virgis aecclesiola.' Cp. Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 11. Kilclief in co. Down, Kilclay near Clogher, and Kilcleagh in Westmeath took their names from *Cill-Cleithe*, the hurdle church. Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.* 217; Joyce, i. 313.

[3] *navi*] According to the ancient Irish Life this wattling was wanted for a church in Derry.

plebeium eiusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum; Sanctus consequenter praecipiens dicit, 'Ne ergo illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur hordei modii[1], eosdemque his in diebus arata ipse seminet in terra.' Quibus ad plebeium, Findchanum nomine, iuxta Sancti iussionem, missis, et coram eo cum tali commendatione adsignatis, gratanter accipiens, ait, 'Quomodo post medium aestеum tempus seges seminata, contra huius naturam terrae, proficiet?' Marita e contra, 'Fac,' ait, 'secundum Sancti mandatum, cui Dominus donabit quodcunque ab eo postulaverit.' Sed et qui missi sunt simul hoc addiderunt, dicendo, 'Sanctus Columba, qui nos ad te cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segete, dicens,—Homo ille in omnipotentia Dei confidat: seges eius, quamvis de mense Iunio duodecim praemissis diebus seminata, in principiis Augusti mensis metetur[2].' Obsequitur plebeius arando et seminando; et messem, quam supradicto in tempore contra spem seminavit, cum omnium admiratione vicinorum in exordio Augusti mensis maturam, iuxta verbum Sancti, messuit, in loco terrae qui dicitur Delcros[3].

CAP. IV.

DE MORBIFERA NUBE, ET PLURIMORUM SANITATE.

A pestilential cloud.

Alio itidem in tempore, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo qui Latine Munitio Magna[4] dicitur, videt ab aquilone nubem densam et pluvialem, de mari die serena obortam:

[1] *bis terni modii*] So 'sex modios' in i. 41, p. 53.

[2] *metetur*] In the Life of St. Fintan there is a much more wonderful story, according to which the corn grew up and ripened as soon as the first furrow was sown. (Colg. *Acta SS.* p. 11 *b*). Bede relates how St. Cuthbert's barley ripened in Farne though sown too late, and how successful the saint was in remonstrating with the birds that came in flocks to feed thereon. *Vit. S. Cuthb.* xix.

[3] *Delcros*] Not identified; *dealg ros* = promontory of thorns.

[4] *Munitio Magna*] Possibly Dunbhuirg, 'the hill of the fortification,' in the north-west of Iona, which shows some traces of fortification on the top. It is one of the highest hills in the island,

qua ascendente visa, Sanctus ad quendam de suis iuxta se monachum sedentem, nomine Silnanum, filium Nemani-don Mocusogin[1], 'Haec nubes,' ait, 'valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit; hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiae partem, hoc est, ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine[2] usque ad Vadum Clied[3], pluviam vespere distillabit morbiferam, quae gravia et purulenta humanis in corporibus, et in pecorum uberibus, nasci faciet ulcera[4]; quibus homines morbidi et pecudes, illa venenosa gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati, laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire languoribus, Domino miserante, debemus. Tu ergo, Silnane, nunc mecum descendens de monte, navigationem praepara crastina die, vita comite et Deo volente, a me pane accepto, Dei invocato nomine benedicto, quo in aqua intincto, homines ea conspersi[5], et pecora, celerem recuperabunt salutem.' Quid moramur? Die crastina, his quae necessaria erant citius praeparatis, Silnanus, accepto de manu Sancti pane benedicto[6], in pace enavigavit. Cui Sanctus, a se eadem emigranti hora, addit hoc consolatorium verbum, dicens, 'Confide, fili, ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque, usque dum ad illam pervenias

Small-pox and cow-pox?

Blessed bread in water.

but we need not attach much importance to the word *monticulus*, when used by Adamnan.

[1] *Nemanus-don Mocusogin*] Nemandon Mocusogin; the latter is a clan name, probably = *mocu Soghain*, filiorum Soghani.

[2] *Ailbine*] The small river Delvin, which runs between the counties of Dublin and Meath.

[3] *Vadum Clied*] *Ath Cliath*, 'Hurdle Ford,' the ancient name of Dublin. Irish-speaking natives still call it *Baile-Atha-Cliath*, the town of the ford of the hurdles. The later name is from *Duibh-linn*, black pool, not a bad description of the Liffey at the present time. On the Irish kishes or wickerwork bridges see Joyce, i. 361–4.

[4] *ulcera*] This looks like an epidemic of small-pox and of cow-pox. It is not noticed in the Irish Annals.

[5] *conspersi*] See the two following chapters, and ch. 33, as also Bede's account of the virtues supposed to reside in water containing particles of Irish MSS. and of St. Oswald's cross (*H. E.* i. 1, iii. 2); many similar accounts may be seen in Bede and elsewhere.

[6] *pane benedicto*] Bede relates how one Hildmer was cured by drinking water in which had been put a little piece of a loaf that had been blessed by St. Cuthbert. *Vit. S. C.* xxxi. The *Eulogia* or holy bread may be meant.

regionem quae dicitur Ard Ceannachte[1], ut languentibus ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane.' Quid plura? Silnanus, verbo obsecutus Sancti, prospera et celeri navigatione, auxiliante Domino, ad supra memoratam perveniens partem illius regionis, plebem de qua Sanctus praedixerat devastatam nubis praedictae morbifera reperiit pluvia superpluente, citius praecurrentis. Inprimisque bis terni viri in eadem mari vicina domo reperti in extremis morte positi appropinquante, ab eodem Silnano aqua benedictionis aspersi, in eodem die opportunius sanati sunt. Cuius subitae sanationis rumor, per totam illam morbo pestilentiore vastatam regionem cito divulgatus, omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbae legatum invitavit populum; qui, iuxta Sancti mandatum, homines et pecora pane intincta benedicto aqua conspersit, et continuo plenam recuperantes salutem, homines, cum pecudibus salvati, Christum in sancto Columba cum eximia gratiarum actione laudarunt. In hac itaque suprascripta narratione, ut aestimo, duo haec manifeste pariter comitantur; hoc est, gratia prophetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in aegrotantium sanitate. Haec per omnia esse verissima, supradictus Silnanus, Christi miles, sancti legatus Columbae, coram Segineo abbate et ceteris testatus est senioribus.

Miracles of healing.

CAP. V.

DE MAUGINA SANCTA VIRGINE DAIMENI FILIA, QUAE INHABITAVERAT IN CLOCHUR FILIORUM DAIMENI.

Alio in tempore Sanctus, cum in Ioua demoraretur insula, prima diei hora, quendam advocans fratrem, Lugaidum nomine, cuius cognomentum Scotice Lathir dicitur; et taliter eum compellat, dicens, 'Praepara cito ad Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse te usque ad Clocherum filiorum

A broken hip-bone cured by holy water.

[1] *Ard Ceannachte*] In Meath; the height of the Cianachta or posterity of Cian, who was slain c. 240.

Daimeni[1] destinare legatum. In hac enim praeterita nocte, casu aliquo, [a] Maugina[2], sancta virgo, filia Daimeni, ab oratorio post missam[3] domum reversa, titubavit, coxaque eius in duas confracta est partes[4]. Haec saepius meum, inclamitans, nomen commemorat, a Domino sperans se accepturam per me consolationem.' Quid plura? Lugaido obsecundanti, et consequenter emigranti, Sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione capsellam, dicens, 'Benedictio[5], quae in hac capsellula continetur, quando ad Mauginam pervenies visitandam, in aquae vasculum intingatur, eademque benedictionis aqua super eius infundatur coxam; et statim, invocato Dei nomine, coxale coniungetur os[6], et densabitur; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem.' Et hoc Sanctus addit, 'En ego coram in huius capsae operculo numerum viginti trium annorum describo, quibus sacra virgo in hac praesenti, post eandem salutem, victura est vita.' Quae omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a Sancto praedicta: nam, statim ut Lugaidus ad sanctam pervenit virginem, aqua benedicta, sicut Sanctus commendavit, perfusa coxa, sine ulla morula condensato[7] osse, plene sanata est; et in adventu legati sancti Columbae cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavisa, viginti tribus annis, secundum Sancti prophetiam, post sanitatem, in bonis actibus permanens, vixit.

[a] Mauguina B. Cf. p. 66.

[1] *Clocherum filiorum Daimeni*] Clochar mac u Daimhene, Clogher, where St. Maccarthen founded a monastery in St. Patrick's time, which afterwards became a bishop's see. The clan Damhin were sons of Damhin son of Cairbre Damhairgid, king of Airghialla, whence *episcopus Ergalliae* became a common designation of the bishops of Clogher. Clochar, 'stony place,' is so common a name as to require some distinctive addition.

[2] *Maugina*] Moghain, probably of Cluainboireann, *Mart. Donegal*, Dec. 15.

[3] *post missam*] The 'vespertinalis missa'; see iii. 23 and note.

[4] *partes*] Maugina appears to have sustained a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone, which is often caused by a false step, e. g. from a kerb-stone, in the case of aged persons. Such patients not uncommonly regain a fair use of the limb.

[5] *Benedictio*] (1) blessing, as in ii. 39 *bis*. (2) the vehicle of blessing, ii. 5, 6, 33, so *Eulogia*, p. 77 n. For the second sense compare Heb. בְּרָכָה, a present, Gen. xxxiii. 11, 1 Sam. xxv. 27, etc.

[6] *coniungetur os*] For a broken arm cured by moss from St. Oswald's cross, see Bede, *H. E.* iii. 2.

[7] *condensato*] United.

CAP. VI.

DE HIS QUAE IN DORSO CEATE PERACTAE SUNT DIVERSORUM SANITATIBUS MORBORUM.

Cures at Druimceatt.

Vir vitae praedicabilis, sicuti nobis ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum, invocato Christi nomine, illis in diebus sanavit, quibus, ad regum pergens condictum in Dorso Cette, brevi commoratus est tempore. Nam aut sanctae manus protensione, aut aqua ab eo benedicta, aegroti plures aspersi, aut etiam fimbriae eius tactu amphibali, aut alicuius rei, salis videlicet vel panis, benedictione accepta, et lymphis intincta, plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem.

CAP. VII.

DE PETRA SALIS A SANCTO BENEDICTA, QUAM IGNIS ABSUMERE NON POTUIT.

Preservation of a lump of salt.

Alio itidem in tempore, Colgu filius Cellachi postulatam a Sancto petram salis [1] benedictam accipit, sorori et suae nutrici profuturam, quae ophthalmiae laborabat valde gravi languore. Talem eulogiam [2] eadem soror et nutricia de manu fratris accipiens, in pariete super lectum suspendit; casuque post aliquantos contigit dies, ut idem viculus, cum supradictae domuncula feminae, flamma vastante, totus concremaretur. Mirum dictu, illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam domum, stans illaesa permansit; nec ignis ausus est attingere binales, in quibus talis pendebat salis petra, sudes [3].

[1] *petram salis*] A lump of rock salt.

[2] *eulogiam*] Synonymous with *benedictio* just below. *Eu'ogia*, id est, salutationem vel donum, Gloss. interl. Cod. D. Edulia sacerdotis benedictione consecrata. Index Onomast. in *Act. SS. Iul.* tom. i. Usually bread hallowed by prayer, from which the bread for the Eucharist was taken, but in later times different bread, also hallowed, the 'holy-bread.' See notes on ii. 4, 5.

[3] *sudes*] Probably the stakes that supported the hurdle wall. If

CAP. VIII.

DE LIBRARIO FOLIO[1] SANCTI MANU DESCRIPTO, QUOD AQUA CORRUMPI NON POTUIT.

Preservation of a leaf written by St. Columba.

ALIUD miraculum aestimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum est per contrarium elementum. Multorum namque transcursis annorum circulis post beati ad Dominum transitum viri, quidam iuvenis de equo lapsus in flumine, quod Scotice Boend[2] vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub aqua diebus permansit; qui, sicuti sub ascella[3], cadens, libros in pelliceo reconditos sacculo[4] habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus, sacculum cum libris inter brachium et latus continens; cuius etiam ad aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbae sanctis scriptum digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta sed et putrefacta, inventum est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scriniolo esset reconditum.

CAP. IX.

DE ALIO MIRACULO IN RE SIMILI GESTO.

Also of a hymn-book.

ALIO in tempore, hymnorum liber septimaniorum[5] sancti Columbae manu descriptus, de cuiusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris, cum pelliceo in quo inerat sacculo, in quodam partis Laginorum

they were made damp by the deliquescence of the salt, it would not require a miracle to prevent their taking fire.

[1] *librario folio*] A book leaf.

[2] *Boend*] Boinne, the Boyne, which forms most of the southern limit of Ulster.

[3] *sub ascella*] The satchel was slung in the usual way under his *axilla*, as represented on the Great Cross at Clonmacnoise.

[4] *pelliceo sacculo*] In a *tiaga*; each separate book would be in a *polaire*. Intr. iv. § 13.

[5] *hymnorum liber*] The *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, A.D. 680–691, contains not only Antiphons, etc., but six well-known canticles, and twelve metrical hymns, one of which (*Sancti, venite*) has become familiar through Dr. Neale's translation, 'Draw nigh, and take,' in Hymns A. and M., No. 313. The *Liber Hymnorum* in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a MS. of

fluvio submersus cecidit. Qui videlicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque ad Paschalium consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum presbyterum, gente Pictum, cuius prius iuris erat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portatur sacculo. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus aperiens, suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset. Sed et alia de libris manu sancti Columbae caraxatis similia ab expertis indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis: qui scilicet libri, in aquis mersi, nullo modo corrumpi potuere [1]. De supra memorato vero Iogenani libro a viris quibusdam veracibus et perfectis bonique testimonii, sine ulla ambiguitate, relationem accepimus; qui eundem libellum, post tot supradictos submersionis dies, candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt.

Haec duo, quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta, et per contraria ostensa elementa, ignem scilicet et aquam, beati tes-

the eleventh or twelfth century, contains a number of Latin and Irish hymns not found elsewhere. The late Dr. Todd began to edit it with a translation and notes, and fasciculi were issued in 1855 and 1869 by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, containing about half of the work, but the editor's death prevented its completion. and it remains unfinished.

[1] *nullo modo corrumpi potuere*] There are many legends of books written by or belonging to Saints resisting the action of water and even of fire. See Reeves's note here. They are probably founded on actual facts. Symeon relates how the precious volume now known as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* fell overboard in a storm and was picked up on the shore at low water uninjured, which circumstance he ascribes to the merits of St. Cuthbert and of those who wrote it and adorned the covers with gold and gems. (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm*, lib. II. cap. xvii.) The book is now in the British Museum (Cotton Nero, D. 4), and shows stains on the vellum such as Sir F. Madden believed to have been occasioned by the sea-water on this occasion. If it was tightly clasped it would take some time for the water to get far in, for the swelling of the vellum of the wet margins held closely together would stop it. It appears in the Lindisfarne Inventories as 'Liber Beati Cuthberti qui demersus erat in mare.' Cp. Mac Geoghegan's MS. quoted in the Book of Trinity Coll. Dublin, p. 160, as to the superstitious practice of purposely sinking these books in water to cure sick cattle, also, as to St. Margaret's Gospel-book, Madan, *Books in MS.*, 107 ff.

tantur honorem viri, et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur Dominum.

CAP. X.

DE AQUA QUAE, SANCTO ORANTE, EX DURA PRODUCTA EST PETRA.

Water brought from a rock.

Et quia paulo superius aquatici facta est mentio elementi, silere non debemus etiam alia miracula, quae per Sanctum Dominus eiusdem in re, licet diversis temporibus et locis, creaturae[1] peregit. Alio namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in sua conversaretur peregrinatione, infans ei per parentes ad baptizandum offertur iter agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, eiusdem rupis frontem benedixit; de qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in qua continuo infantem baptizavit. De quo etiam baptizato haec, vaticinans, intulit verba, inquiens, 'Hic puerulus usque in extremam longaevus vivet aetatem; in annis iuvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps Christianae usque in exitum militiae mancipandus, in bona senectute ad Dominum emigrabit.' Quae omnia eidem viro iuxta Sancti contigerunt vaticinium. Hic erat Lugucencalad[2], cuius parentes fuerant in Artdaib Muirchol, ubi hodieque fonticulus, sancti nomine Columbae pollens[3], cernitur.

A prophecy.

CAP. XI.

DE ALIA MALIGNA FONTANA AQUA QUAM VIR BEATUS IN PICTORUM REGIONE BENEDIXIT.

Alio in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe gentili de alio fonte

[1] *eiusdem in re . . . creaturae*] In the circumstance or case of the same 'creature' (used as in the Consecration Prayer in the Prayer Book and 1 Tim. iv. 4).

[2] *Lugucencalad*] Probably a diminutive of *Lugu*, a proper name, with *caladh*, 'of the ferry.'

[3] *pollens*] Potent, as a healing spring.

divulgari famam, quem quasi deum [1] stolidi homines, diabolo eorum obcaecante sensus, venerabantur ; nam de eodem fonticulo bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, daemoniaca, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus revertebantur. Ob quae omnia seducti gentiles divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus compertis, Sanctus alia die intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod videntes magi, quos saepe ipse confusos et victos a se repellebat, valde gavisi sunt, scilicet putantes eum similia illius nocuae tactu aquae passurum. Ille vero imprimis elevata manu sancta, cum invocatione Christi nominis, manus lavat et pedes ; tum deinde cum sociis de eadem, a se benedicta, bibit. Ex illaque die daemones ab eodem recesserunt fonte, et non solum nulli nocere permissus est, sed etiam, post Sancti benedictionem et in eo lavationem, multae in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatae sunt fontem.

A baneful spring blessed and healed.

CAP. XII.

DE BEATI VIRI IN MARI PERICULO, ET TEMPESTATIS EO ORANTE SUBITA SEDATIONE.

Alio in tempore, vir sanctus in mari periclitari coepit ; totum namque vas navis, valde concussum, magnis undarum cumulis fortiter feriebatur, grandi undique insistente ventorum tempestate.

A storm ceases at his prayer.

[1] *quasi deum*] Tirechán relates of St. Patrick that 'Venit ad fontem Findmaige qui dicitur Slan, quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem, et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dii, . . . quia adorabant fontem in modum dii' (Stokes, *Trip.* 323). No doubt the Christian veneration for holy wells has been in some measure a continuation of a very natural pre-Christian feeling of the value of wells, which feeling too often became idolatrous or otherwise superstitious. Cp. *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, ix. 186. Here however we have a rare instance of a well regarded even by Adamnan as malign in its influences, and worshipped by the heathen from a sense of fear, until St. Columba obtained the healing of the waters.

Nautae tum forte Sancto, sentinam [1] cum illis exhaurire conanti, aiunt, 'Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis proficit periclitantibus ; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus.' Quo audito, aquam cessat amaram exinanire, hininglas [2] ; dulcem vero et intentam precem coepit ad Dominum fundere [3]. Mirum dictu, eodem horae momento, quo Sanctus, in prora stans, extensis ad caelum palmis, Omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris saevitia, dicto citius sedata, cessavit, et statim serenissima tranquillitas subsecuta est. Qui vero navi inerant, obstupefacti, cum magna admiratione referentes gratias, glorificaverunt Dominum in sancto et praedicabili viro.

CAP. XIII.

DE ALIO EIUS IN MARI SIMILI PERICULO.

Another storm ceases at the prayer of St. Cainnech.

ALIO quoque in tempore, saeva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate, sociis ut pro eis Sanctus Dominum exoraret inclamitantibus ; hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens, 'Hac in die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis Cainnichi, sancti viri.' Mira dicturus sum. Eadem hora sanctus Cainnichus, in suo conversans monasterio, quod Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Ached-bou [4], Spiritu revelante Sancto, supradictam sancti Columbae interiore cordis aure vocem audierat ; et cum forte post nonam coepisset horam in refectorio [a] eulogiam [5] frangere, ocius deserit mensulam,

[a] eylogiam *sic cap.* vii. *supra* (*litera Y ex graeca* Y *efficta*) A.

[1] *sentinam*] *Sentina* is properly the sink in the hold of a ship in which the water collects ; the only marginal gloss in Cod. A. is on this word : 'sentina est feruida aqua nauis.' Reeves, 453 ; Pl. ii. 6.

[2] *hininglas*] In old Irish = 'the green water,' i. e. the sea, from *in*, the, *an*, water, and *glas*, greyish or bluish green. Either a gloss crept into the text, or an original parenthetic explanation of the unusual form 'aquam amaram,' contrasted with 'dulcem precem.'

[3] *aquam cessat . . . fundere*] Note the antithesis.

[4] *Ached-bou*] Campulus Bovis, Aghaboe, dio. Ossory.

[5] *eulogiam*] Here the holy-bread or *pain-béni*, still distributed in many French churches, as formerly in those of England. The Irish practice seems to have been to take it in the refectory, and that

unoque in pede inhaerente calceo, et altero pro nimia festinatione relicto, festinanter pergit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam, 'Non est nobis nunc temporis prandere quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti Columbae. Hoc enim momento, ipse huius nomen Cainnichi ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus Christum exoret.' Post haec illius verba oratorium ingressus, flexis genibus paulisper oravit ; eiusque orationem exaudiente Domino, illico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi ad ecclesiam properationem in spiritu videns, quamlibet longe conversantis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum, dicens, 'Nunc cognovi, O Cainniche, quod Deus tuam exaudierit precem ; nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad ecclesiam velox cum uno calceamento [1] cursus.' In hoc itaque tali miraculo amborum, ut credimus, oratio cooperata est Sanctorum.

St. Columba sees it at a distance.

CAP. XIV.

DE BACULO, IN PORTU, SANCTI CAINNICHI NEGLECTO.

Alio in tempore, idem supra memoratus Cainnichus suum, a portu Iouae insulae ad Scotiam navigare incipiens, baculum secum portare oblitus est ; qui scilicet eius baculus, post ipsius egressum in litore repertus, sancti in manum traditus est Columbae ; quemque, domum reversus, in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in oratione diutius demoratur. Cainnichus proinde ad Oidecham [2] appropinquans insulam, subito de sua oblivione compunctus, interius perculsus est. Sed post modicum intervallum, de navi descendens, et in terra cum

The staff of St. Cainnech projected over the sea.

the same practice existed at Iona has been inferred from the preface to the *Altus* of St. Columba in *Lib. Hymnor.* ii. 220. See Skene, *C. S.* ii. 99. The later copyists have adapted Codd. C. D. to later usage by substituting *oratorio* for *refectorio*.

[1] *cum uno calceamento*] The same story is told, including this graphic detail, in the *Life of St. Cainnech*, p. 31, ed. Ormonde.

[2] *Oidecham*] Called *terrula Aithche* in this same chapter ; somewhere between Iona and Ireland, possibly the south of Islay, formerly named Owo, now 'The Ooa.'

oratione genua flectens, baculum, quem in portu Iouae insulae oblitus post se reliquit, super cespitem terrulae Aithche ante se invenit[1]. De cuius etiam effecta divinitus evectione valde est miratus cum gratiarum in Deo actione.

CAP. XV.

DE BAITHENEO ET COLUMBANO FILIO BEOGNI, SANCTIS PRESBYTERIS, EADEM SIBI DIE VENTUM PROSPERUM A DOMINO PER BEATI VIRI ORATIONEM DONARI POSTULANTIBUS, SED DIVERSA NAVIGANTIBUS VIA.

The wind changed at the prayer of St. Columba.

Alio quoque in tempore, superius memorati sancti viri ad Sanctum venientes, ab eo simul unanimes postulant ut ipse a Domino postulans impetraret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari diversa emigraturis via. Quibus Sanctus respondens, hoc dedit responsum, 'Mane crastina die, Baitheneus, a portu Iouae[2] enavigans insulae, flatum habebit secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat Campi Lunge.' Quod ita, iuxta Sancti verbum, Dominus donavit: nam Baitheneus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque pelagus usque ad Ethicam transmeavit terrram. Hora vero eiusdem diei tertia, vir venerandus Columbanum advocat presbyterum dicens, 'Nunc Baitheneus prospere optatum pervenit ad portum: ad navigandum te hodie praepara; mox Dominus ventum convertet in aquilonem.' Cui sic prolato beati viri verbo eadem hora auster obsecundans ventus se in aquiloneum convertit flatum; et ita in eadem die uterque vir sanctus, alter ab altero in pace aversus, Baitheneus mane ad Ethicam terram, Columbanus post meridiem Hiberniam incipiens appetere, plenis enavigavit velis et flatibus secundis. Hoc illustris viri virtute ora-

[1] *invenit*] This again is in a Life of St. Cainnech, in *Cod. Marshii*, cap. 25.

[2] *portu Iouae*] See p. 41 n. But Port-na-muintir, the port of the people (community) is perhaps as likely to be the port so often mentioned in the text as either of those named in the above note. It is less commodious, but is nearer to the probable site of the original monastery.

tionum, Domino donante, effectum est miraculum; quia, sicut scriptum est, *Omnia possibilia sunt credenti*[1]. Post illa in die sancti Columbani egressum, sanctus hoc de illo propheticum Columba protulit verbum, 'Vir sanctus Columbanus, cui emigranti benediximus, nusquam in hoc saeculo faciem videbit meam.' Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno[2] sanctus Columba ad Dominum transiit.

CAP. XVI.

DE REPULSIONE DAEMONIS QUI IN LACTARIO LATITABAT VASCULO.

A demon driven out of a milk-pail.

Alio in tempore, quidam iuvenis, Columbanus nomine, Nepos Briuni, ad ianuam tugurioli subito perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus scribebat. Hic idem, post vaccarum reversus mulsionem, in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte, dicit ad Sanctum, ut iuxta morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminus in aere signum salutare[3] manu elevata depinxit, quod illico valde concussum est, gergennaque[4] operculi, per sua bina foramina retrusa, longius proiecta est, operculum terra tenus cecidit, lac ex maiore mensura in solum defusum est. Iuvenculus vas, cum parvo quod remanserat lactis, super fundum in terra deponit, genua suppliciter flectit. Ad quem Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'Columbane, hodie in tua operatione negligenter egisti, daemonem[5] enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi, impresso Dominicae crucis signo, ante infusionem lactis, non effugasti: cuius videlicet signi nunc virtutem non sustinens, tremefactus,

[1] *credenti*] St. Mark ix. 22, Vulg.

[2] *eodem anno*] A.D. 595.

[3] *signum salutare*] The sign of the cross; see chs. 27, 29, 35. St. Patrick is said to have signed himself a hundred times in a day, and to have alighted from his *currus* to pray whenever he saw a cross. Muirchu in Stokes, *Tripartite*, 293; *Anal. Boll.* i. 578.

[4] *gergenna*] The wooden bar that fastened down the lid of a milk-pail; Glossae Saxon. MSS. *sticca*, gergenna (Somner, ap. Ducange).

[5] *daemonem*] 'An enumeration of all the superstitions regarding milk in its various stages, prevalent even in the present day among the peasantry of Scotland and the north of Ireland, would require more space than the limited nature of a note permits.' (Reeves, 1857, p. 126.)

toto pariter turbato vase, velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. Huc ergo ad me proprius vasculum, ut illud benedicam, approxima.' Quo facto, Sanctus semivacuum quod benedixerat vas, eodem momento divinitus repletum repertum est; parvumque quod prius in fundo vasis remanserat, sub sanctae manus benedictione, usque ad summam citius excreverat.

CAP. XVII.

DE VASCULO QUOD QUIDAM MALEFICUS NOMINE SILNANUS LACTE DE MASCULO BOVE EXPRESSO REPLEVERAT.

Milk taken from a bull.

Hoc in domo alicuius plebeii divitis, qui in monte Cainle commorabatur, Foirtgirni nomine, factum traditur. Ubi cum Sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos contendentes duos, quorum prius adventum praescivit, recta iudicatione iudicavit: unusque ex eis, qui maleficus erat, a Sancto iussus, de bove masculo, qui prope erat, lac arte diabolica expressit[1]: quod Sanctus, non ut illa confirmaret maleficia, fieri iussit, quod absit; sed ut ea coram multitudine destrueret. Vir itaque beatus vas, ut videbatur tali plenum lacte, sibi ocius dari poposcit; et hac cum sententia benedixit dicens, 'Modo probabitur non esse hoc verum, quod putatur, lac, sed daemonum fraude, ad decipiendos homines, decoloratus sanguis:' et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus est propriam, hoc est, in sanguinem. Bos quoque, qui per unius horae momentum, turpi macie tabidus et maceratus, erat morti proximus. benedicta a Sancto aqua superfusus, mira sub celeritate sanatus est.

CAP. XVIII.

DE LUGNEO MOCUMIN.

Quadam die quidam bonae indolis iuvenis, Lugneus nomine, qui postea senex in monasterio Elenae insulae[2]

[1] *lac . . . expressit*] In the Life of St. Fechin Colg. *Acta SS.* 131 *a* is a story of how the saint when a boy, 'per columbinam simplicitatem inter taurum et vaccam discernere nesciens,' milked the former by mistake.

[2] *Elenae insulae*] 'Elena insula'

praepositus erat, ad Sanctum veniens, queritur de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro per multos menses de naribus eius immoderate profluebat. Quo propius accito, Sanctus ambas ipsius nares binis manus dexterae digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis, nunquam sanguis de naso eius usque ad extremum distillavit diem.

Bleeding at the nose cured.

CAP. XIX.

DE [a] PISCIBUS BEATO VIRO SPECIALITER A DEO [a] PRAEPARATIS.

Alio in tempore, cum praedicabilis viri sociales, strenui piscatores, quinos in rete pisces cepissent in fluvio Sale [1] piscoso, Sanctus ad eos, iterato, ait, 'Rete in flumen mittite, et statim invenietis grandem, quem mihi Dominus praeparavit, piscem.' Qui, verbo Sancti obtemperantes, mirae magnitudinis traxerunt in retiaculo esocem [2] a Deo sibi praeparatum. [b]Alio quoque in tempore, cum Sanctus iuxta Cei Stagnum aliquantis demoraretur diebus, comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens, 'Hodie et cras nullus in flumine reperietur piscis: tertia mittam vos die, et in-

A large salmon in the net.

Two large salmon.

[a–a] esoce magno in fluvio sale iuxta verbum sancti invento B. [b] *capit. novum orditur, cui praefigitur titulus* de duobus piscibus illo prophetante in flumine quod vocitatur boo repertis B.

has not been identified with certainty, but it is probably Eileanna-Naoimh, one of the Garveloch isles, between Scarba and Mull. It is full of primitive remains, including those of bee-hive cells and of a rectangular church, and close by them is a spring called St. Columba's well. The remains are well described and figured in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, pp. 95–101. Dr. Skene identified this with *Hinba insula*; the same island may have had both names. See i. 21 n. The Latin *Elena* may be from *Eileann*, insula.

[1] *Sale*] Possibly the Blackwater in Meath, anciently Sale or Sele, which St. Patrick is said to have cursed, saying, 'Non erunt pisces magni in flumine Sele semper.' Tirech. in Stokes, *Trip.* 307. For another river Sale, see ii. 45.

[2] *esocem*] *Esox* or *isicius* has been understood to denote three or four different fishes, in modern times especially the pike (*Esox lucius*, Linn.). But it often stood for the salmon, as in the *Life of St. Kentigern*, cap. 36, 'ysitiumque, qui vulgo salmo dicitur,' where Pinkerton has 'esocem.' Similarly in a charter of 1252 quoted by Ducange. We are probably to understand *salmon* here.

venietis binos grandes, in rete retentos, fluminales esoces.' Quos ita post duas dieculas, rete mittentes, duos rarissimae magnitudinis, in fluvio qui dicitur Bo reperientes, ad terram traxerunt. In his duabus memoratis piscationibus, miraculi apparet virtus et prophetica simul praescientia comitata, pro quibus Sanctus et socii Deo grates eximias reddiderunt.

CAP. XX.

DE NESANO CURVO QUI IN EA REGIONE CONVERSABATUR QUAE STAGNO APORUM[1] EST CONTERMINA.

The Saint blesses a poor but hospitable man,

HIC Nesanus, cum esset valde inops, sanctum alio tempore gaudenter hospitio recepit virum. Cui cum hospitaliter secundum vires, unius noctis spatio ministrasset, Sanctus ab eo inquirit, cuius boculas numeri haberet: ille ait, 'Quinque.' Sanctus consequenter, 'Ad me,' ait, 'adduc, ut eas benedicam.' Quibus adductis, et elevata manu sancta benedictis, 'Ab hac die tuae pauculae quinque vacculae crescent,' ait Sanctus, 'usque ad centum et quinque vaccarum numerum.' Et quia idem Nesanus homo plebeius erat, cum uxore et filiis, hoc etiam ei vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens, 'Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum.' Quae omnia plene, iuxta verbum Sancti, sine ulla expleta sunt imminutione. [[a] De quodam[2] viro divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigenio,

and predicts the fate of a niggardly man.

qui sanctum Columbam despexerat, nec eum hospitio recepit, hanc e contrario protulit prophetalem sententiam, inquiens, 'Illius autem avari divitiae, qui Christum in peregrinis hospitibus sprevit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad nihilum

[a–a] *om.* A. *sine rubrica, paragrapho, titulo, aut quavis distinctione, tenori praecedentium adhaeret* B.

[1] *Stagnum Aporum*] Or, *Stagnum Aporicum*, Lochaber, now the name of a district, not of any lake. Part of Loch Eil, an inlet of the sea, was probably the Loch Abor of early times.

[2] *De quodam*, etc.] This section is wanting in Cod. A., and is supplied here from Cod. B. It is bracketed as being of doubtful genuineness.

redigentur ; et ipse mendicabit ; et filius eius cum semivacua de domo in domum perula discurret ; et, ab aliquo eius aemulo securi in fossula excussorii percussus, morietur.' Quae omnia de utroque, iuxta sancti prophetiam viri, plene sunt expleta.[a]]

CAP. XXI.

DE COLUMBANO AEQUE PLEBEIO VIRO, CUIUS PECORA ADMODUM PAUCA VIR SANCTUS BENEDIXIT ; SED POST ILLIUS BENEDICTIONEM USQUE AD CENTENARIUM CREVERUNT NUMERUM.

He blesses a poor man's cattle.

Alio quoque tempore, vir beatus quadam nocte, cum apud supra memoratum Columbanum tunc temporis inopem, bene hospitaretur, mane primo Sanctus, sicuti superius de Nesano commemoratum est, de quantitate et qualitate substantiae plebeium hospitem interrogat. Qui interrogatus, 'Quinque, ait, tantummodo habeo vacculas ; quae, si eas benedixeris, in maius crescent.' Quas illico, a Sancto iussus, adduxit, similique modo, ut supra de Nesani quinis dictum est vacculis, et huius Columbani boculas[1] quinales aequaliter benedicens, inquit, 'Centenas et quinque, Deo donante, habebis vaccas, et erit *in filiis et nepotibus* tuis *florida benedictio*[2].' Quae omnia, iuxta beati viri prophetationem, in agris et pecoribus eius et prole, plenissime adimpleta sunt ; mirumque in modum numerus a Sancto praefinitus supra memoratis ambobus viris, in centenario vaccarum et quinario expletus numero, nullo modo superaddi potuit : nam illa, quae supra praefinitum excedebant numerum, diversis praerepta casibus, nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiae, aut etiam in opus eleemosynae, expendi poterat. In hac itaque narratione, ut in ceteris, virtutis miraculum et prophetia simul aperte ostenditur : nam in magna vaccarum

Cummian. XXV.

[1] *boculas*] Reeves thinks that in this and the preceding chapters the diminutives may have reference to the poverty of the animals.

[2] *florida benedictio*] A bright or beautiful blessing.

ampliatione benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in praefinitione numeri prophetalis praescientia.

CAP. XXII.

DE [a] MALEFACTORUM INTERITU QUI SANCTUM [a] DISPEXERANT.

Predicts the fate of a persecutor,

VIR venerandus supra memoratum Columbanum, quem de paupere virtus benedictionis eius ditem fecit, valde diligebat; quia ei multa pietatis officia praebebat. Erat autem illo in tempore quidam malefactor homo, bonorum persecutor, nomine Ioan filius Conallis filii Domnallis, de regio Gabrani ortus genere. Hic supradictum Columbanum, sancti amicum Columbae, persequebatur; domumque eius, omnibus in ea inventis, devastaverat, ereptis, non semel, sed bis inimiciter agens. Unde forte non immerito eidem maligno accidit viro, ut tertia vice post eiusdem domus tertiam depraedationem, beatum virum, quem quasi longius positum dispexerat, proprius appropinquantem, ad navem revertens praeda onustus cum sociis, obvium haberet. Quem cum Sanctus de suis corriperet malis, praedamque deponere rogans suaderet, ille, immitis et insuadibilis permanens, Sanctum dispexit, navimque cum praeda ascendens, beatum virum subsannabat et deridebat. Quem Sanctus ad mare usque prosecutus est, vitreasque[1] intrans aquas usque ad genua aequoreas, levatis ad caelum ambis[2] manibus. Christum intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes se glorificat electos. Est vero ille portus, in quo post egressum persecutoris stans paulisper Dominum exorabat, in loco qui Scotice vocitatur Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol[3]. Tum proinde Sanctus, expleta oratione, ad aridam reversus, in eminentiore cum comitibus

[a–a] interitu iohannis filii conallis eadem die qua sanctum spernens dehonoravit B.

[1] *vitreas*] Glassy or glass-green, in allusion to colour and transparency.

[2] *ambis*] So in Codd. A. B., for *ambabus*, C. D. S. *Ambis manibus* is in *De Loc. Sanct.* i. 15.

[3] *Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol*] See i. 12 n., p. 26. There is Camusnangel in Ardnamurchan.

sedet loco: ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens, 'Hic miserabilis humuncio, qui Christum in suis dispexit servis, ad portum, a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit, nunquam revertetur; sed nec ad alias, quas appetit, terras, subita praeventus morte, cum suis perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie, quam mox videbitis, de nube a borea orta immitis immissa procella eum cum sociis submerget; nec de eis etiam unus remanebit fabulator[1].' Post aliquantum paucularum interventum morarum, die serenissima, et ecce de mari oborta, sicut Sanctus dixerat, nubes, cum magno fragore venti emissa, raptorem cum praeda inter Maleam et Colosum insulas inveniens, subito turbato submersit medio mari: nec ex eis, iuxta verbum Sancti, qui navi inerant etiam unus evasit; mirumque in modum, toto circumquaque manente tranquillo aequore, talis una rapaces ad inferna submersos prostravit procella, misere quidem, sed digne.

CAP. XXIII.

DE [a] QUODAM FERADACHO SUBITA MORTE [a] SUBTRACTO.

and of a treacherous man.

Alio quoque in tempore, vir sanctus, quendam de nobili Pictorum genere exulem, Tarainum nomine, in manum alicuius Feradachi ditis viri, qui in Ilea insula[2] habitabat, diligenter assignans commendavit, ut in eius comitatu, quasi unus de amicis, per aliquot menses conversaretur. Quem cum tali commendatione de sancti manu viri suscepisset commendatum, post paucos dies, dolose agens, crudeli eum iussione trucidavit. Quod immane scelus cum Sancto a commeantibus esset nunciatum, sic respondens profatus est, 'Non mihi sed Deo ille infelix homunculus mentitus est, cuius nomen de libro vitae delebitur. Haec verba aesteo nunc mediante proloquimur tempore, sed autumnali, antequam de suilla degustet

[a–a] alicuius feradachi morte fraudulenti viri a sancto praenunciata B.

[1] *fabulator*] 'To tell the tale.'

[2] *Ilea insula*] Islay.

carne, arboreo saginata fructu[1], subita praeventus morte, ad infernalia rapietur loca.' Haec sancti prophetia viri, cum miscllo nuntiaret homuncioni, despiciens irrisit Sanctum: et post dies aliquot autumnalium mensium, eo iubente, scrofa nucum impinguata nucleis iugulatur, necdum aliis eiusdem viri iugulatis suibus; de qua celeriter exinterata partem sibi in veru celerius assari praecipit, ut de ea impatiens homo praegustans, beati viri prophetationem destrueret. Qua videlicet assata, dari sibi poposcit aliquam praegustandam morsus particulam; ad quam percipiendam extensam manum priusquam ad os converteret, expirans, mortuus retro in dorsum cecidit. Et qui viderant, et qui audierant, valde tremefacti, admirantes, Christum in sancto propheta honorificantes glorificarunt.

CAP. XXIV.

DE ALIO QUODAM NEFARIO HOMINE, ECCLESIARUM PERSECUTORE, CUIUS NOMEN LATINE MANUS DEXTERA DICITUR.

Sees at a distance that a certain ruffian is slain.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum alios ecclesiarum persecutores, in Hinba commoratus insula, excommunicare coepisset, filios videlicet Conallis filii Domnaill, quorum unus erat Ioan, de quo supra retulimus; quidam ex eorundem malefactoribus sociis, diaboli instinctu, cum hasta irruit, ut Sanctum interficeret. Quod praecavens unus ex fratribus, Findluganus[2] nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro, cuculla eius indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum beati viri tale vestimentum, quasi quaedam munitissima et impenetrabilis lorica, quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastae, transfigi non potuit, sed illaesum permansit; et qui eo indutus erat, intactus et incolumis tali protectus est

[1] *arboreo saginata fructu*] St. Patrick relates in his *Confessio* how he met with a herd of swine in a forest when he was escaping from servitude.

[2] *Findluganus*] Finnloga, disciple and brother of St. Fintan of Dunblesque, co. Limerick. Commemorated in the name of Loch Finlagan in Islay, in which are the isle and ruined chapel of St. Finlagan.

munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui Manus Dextera[1], retro repedavit, aestimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum. Post ex ea die completum annum, cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, 'Usque in hanc diem,' ait, 'integratus est annus, ex qua die Lam-dess, in quantum potuit, Findluganum mea iugulavit vice; sed et ipse, ut aestimo, hac in hora iugulatur.' Quod iuxta Sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est, quae Latine Longa[2] vocitari potest: ubi ipse solus Lam-dess, in aliqua virorum utrinque acta belligeratione, Cronani filii Baithani iaculo transfixus, in nomine, ut fertur, sancti Columbae emisso, interierat; et post eius interitum, belligerare viri cessarunt.

CAP. XXV.

DE ALIO ITIDEM INNOCENTIUM[3] [a] PERSECUTORE.

His sentence on a murderer, when he was a deacon.

Cum vir beatus, adhuc iuvenis diaconus, in parte Lagenensium, divinam addiscens sapientiam, conversaretur, quadam accidit die ut homo quidam innocuorum immitis persecutor crudelis, quandam in campi planitie filiolam fugientem persequeretur. Quae cum forte Gemmanum[4] senem, supra memorati iuvenis diaconi magistrum[5], in campo legentem vidisset, ad eum recto cursu, quanta valuit velocitate, confugit. Qui, tali perturbatus subitatione, Columbam

[a] qui in laginensium provincia sicut ananias coram petro eodem momento a sancto terribiliter obiurgatus cecidit mortuus *add.* B.

[1] *Manus Dextera*] = Irish *Lamh dess*. Latin equivalents of Irish names are often given by Adamnan as well as by other writers of the Irish school.

[2] *Longa*] Luing, an island near Scarba.

[3] *innocentium*] The term *innocentes* is often applied to women and children, in this case to a *filiola* or *filia*. Adamnan *dedit legem innocentium*, i. e. a law exempting women from going to battle (*Ann. Ult.* A.D. 696), explained in Mac Firbis's MS. Annals as meaning 'to slay neither women nor children.' In 813 however *plurimi sunt interfecti innocentes* (ib.). So the infant Cuthbert is called 'þe Innocent wappid (wrapt) in clathes.' (*Metr. Life*, l. 365.) *Innocens chori* is a choir-boy in a Bull of Innocent VIII (1484).

[4] *Gemmanum*] Some MSS. and edd. have *Germanum*, but there is an Irish name Gemmain.

[5] *magistrum*] See above, Intr. vi. 2.

eminus legentem advocat, ut ambo, in quantum valuissent, filiam a persequente defenderent. Qui, statim superveniens, nulla eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum lancea iugulavit; et relinquens iacentem mortuam super pedes eorum, aversus abire coepit. Senex tum, valde tristificatus, conversus ad Columbam, 'Quanto,' ait, 'sancte puer[1] Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione temporis spatio inultum fieri Iudex iustus patietur Deus?' Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit sententiam, dicens, 'Eadem hora qua interfectae ab eo filiae anima ascendit ad caelos, anima ipsius interfectoris descendat ad inferos.' Et, dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium iugulator, coram oculis sancti iuvenis, in eadem mortuus cecidit terrula. Cuius rumor subitae et formidabilis vindictae continuo per multas Scotiae provincias[2], cum mira sancti diaconi fama, divulgatus est.

Huc usque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse sufficiat: nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus pauca.

CAP. XXVI.

DE [a]APRO PER EIUS ORATIONEM[a] INTEREMPTO.

Cummian, XXV.

Sentence of death on a wild boar.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Scia insula aliquantis demoraretur diebus, paulo longius solus, orationis intuitu, separatus a fratribus, *silvam ingressus* densam, *mirae magnitudinis aprum, quem forte venatici canes persequebantur*, obviam habuit. *Quo viso* eminus, *Sanctus* aspiciens eum *restitit*. Tum deinde, invocato Dei nomine, *sancta elevata manu*, cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione, '*Ulterius* huc *procedere* noles: *in loco* ad quem nunc devenisti *morere*.' Quo Sancti in silvis personante verbo, non solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed

[a-a] apri mortificatione qui a sancto eminus cecidit signo prostratus dominicae crucis B.

[1] *puer*] Used by St. Columba of his attendant in ch. 30, and constantly in mediaeval writings for a servant.

[2] *provincias*] Used here in a much more limited sense than in later times.

ante faciem ipsius terribilis ferus, verbi eius virtute mortificatus, cito corruit.

CAP. XXVII.

DE [a] CUIUSDAM AQUATILIS BESTIAE VIRTUTE ORATIONIS BEATI VIRI [a] REPULSIONE.

A river monster driven back.

Alio quoque in tempore, cum vir beatus in Pictorum provincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluvium transire Nesam[1]: ad cuius cum accessisset ripam, alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humantes homunculum; quem, ut ipsi sepultores ferebant, quaedam paulo ante nantem aquatilis praeripiens bestia[2] morsu momordit saevissimo: cuius miserum cadaver, sero licet, quidam in alno[3] subvenientes porrectis praeripuere uncinis. Vir e contra beatus, haec audiens, praecipit ut aliquis ex comitibus enatans, [b] caupallum[4], in altera stantem ripa, ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti audito praedicabilis viri praecepto, Lugneus Mocumin, nihil moratus, obsecundans, depositis excepta vestimentis tunica, immittit se in aquas. Sed bellua, quae prius non tam satiata, quam in praedam accensa, in profundo fluminis latitabat, sentiens eo nante turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens, natatilis ad hominem in medio natantem alveo, cum ingenti fremitu[5], aperto cucurrit ore. Vir tum beatus videns, omnibus qui

[a–a] alia aquatili bestia quae eo orante et manum e contra levante retro repulsa est ne lugneo natanti vicino noceret B. [b] caupulum C. caballum D.

[1] *Nesa*] Or Nisa, the river Ness, between Loch Ness and the Moray Firth. Hence *Inverness*, *inver* being an estuary or arm of the sea.

[2] *aquatilis bestia*] Reeves, who gives some illustrations from Colgan and others, says here: 'The belief that certain rivers and lakes were haunted by serpents of a demoniacal and terrible character was current among the Irish at a very remote period, and still prevails in many parts of Ireland.' See Le Fanu, *Seventy Years of Irish Life*, 107, 121.

[3] *alno*] 'Alnus' is a classical word for a boat, properly one made of alder wood.

[4] *caupallum*] *Caupallus*, a boat, coble, is the same as *caupulus* or *caupolus*, which occurs in Aulus Gellius, and is explained by the glossarists as *lembus*, *cymba*, *navicula brevis*, *lignum cavatum*, etc. See Ducange. We find *navicula* as a synonym in this same chapter. And yet O'Donnell and Colgan thought it denoted a horse, Irish *capul*.

[5] *fremitu*] This highly imaginative touch is very characteristic.

inerant, tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus, nimio terrore perculsis, cum salutare, sancta elevata manu, in vacuo aere crucis pinxisset signum, invocato Dei nomine, feroci imperavit bestiae, dicens, 'Noles ultra progredi, nec hominem tangas, retro citius revertere.' Tum vero bestia, hac Sancti audita voce, retrorsum, ac si funibus retraheretur, velociori recursu fugit tremefacta: quae prius Lugneo nanti eo usque appropinquavit, ut hominem inter et bestiam non amplius esset quam unius contuli [1] longitudo. Fratres tum, recessisse videntes bestiam, Lugneumque commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolumem in navicula reversum, cum ingenti admiratione glorificaverunt Deum in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari, qui ad praesens inerant, eiusdem miraculi magnitudine, quod et ipsi viderant, compulsi, Deum magnificaverunt Christianorum.

CAP. XXVIII.

DE [a] BENEDICTA A SANCTO HUIUS INSULAE TERRULA NE DEINCEPS IN EA VIPERARUM ALICUI NOCERENT [a] VENENA.

Serpents made harmless in Iona.

QUADAM die eiusdem aestei temporis quo ad Dominum transiit, ad visitandos fratres Sanctus plaustro vectus pergit, qui in campulo [2] occidentali Iouae insulae opus materiale exercebant. Post quorum consolatoria a Sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco [3], sic vaticinatur dicens, 'Ex hac, filioli, die, scio quod in huius campuli locis nunquam poteritis in futurum videre faciam meam.' Quos, hoc audito verbo, valde tristificatos videns, consolari eos in quantum fieri possit conatus, ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam, ait, 'Ex hoc huius horulae

[a-a] insule ione viperinis serpentibus qui ex qua die sanctus eam benedixit nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere B.

Le Fanu mentions a dreadful 'wurrum' that roars like a bull, and bites, as still surviving in many a mountain lake. The legends of the 'worms' of Sockburn and of Lambton in the Bishopric of Durham are probably of Celtic origin.

[1] *contuli*] Of a punt-pole?

[2] *campulo*] See i. 37 n., p. 48.

[3] *eminentiore loco*] Probably one of the 'fairy-hills' in the Machar.

momento omnium viperarum venena[1] nullo modo, in huius insulae terrulis, aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quamdiu Christi mandata eiusdem commorationis incolae observaverint.'

CAP. XXIX.

DE PUGIONE A SANCTO CUM DOMINICAE CRUCIS SIGNACULO BENEDICTA.

A knife made harmless.

Alio in tempore, quidam frater nomine Molua[2] Nepos Briuni, ad Sanctum eadem scribentem hora veniens, dicit ad eum, 'Hoc quod in manu habeo ferrum, quaeso benedicas.' Qui, paululum extensa manu sancta, cum calamo signans benedixit, ad librum de quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supradicto fratre cum ferro benedicto recedente, Sanctus percunctatur dicens, 'Quod fratri ferrum benedixi?' Diormitius, pius eius ministrator, 'Pugionem,' ait, 'ad iugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti.' Qui e contra respondens infit, 'Ferrum quod benedixi, confido in Domino meo, quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit.' Quod Sancti firmissimum eadem hora comprobatum est verbum. Nam idem frater, vallum[3] egressus monasterii, bovem iugulare volens, tribus firmis vicibus, et forti impulsione conatus, nec tamen potuit etiam eius transfigere pellem. Quod monachi scientes experti, eiusdem pugionis ferrum[4], ignis resolutum calore, per omnia monasterii ferra-

[1] *viperarum venena*] This is much earlier than the legend of St. Patrick's driving the serpents etc. out of Ireland, which legend only dates from the twelfth century, Intr. ii. § 6. There are no snakes in Iona, but if ever there had been any they would soon have been exterminated during the human occupation of so small an island.

[2] *Molua*] The name Lua with the particle of affection (='my') prefixed. Nepos Briuni is in Irish Ua Briuin, cp. ch. 16, p. 85.

[3] *vallum*] The rath (enclosing mound and fence) or cashel (wall). Intr. iv. § 2, vii. § 2.

[4] *ferrum*] If a knife-blade was really melted so that others could be coated with the metal, it must surely have been of bronze, though called 'ferrum' in the sense of blade. They would hardly be able to liquefy iron though they might liquefy bronze, as was done for the purpose of coating sheet-iron bells. See Intr. iv. § 8.

menta liquefactum diviserunt illinitum; nec postea ullam potuere carnem vulnerare, illius Sancti manente benedictionis fortitudine[1].

CAP. XXX.

DE DIORMITII AEGROTANTIS SANITATE.

Recovery of one at the point of death.

ALIO in tempore, Diormitius, Sancti pius minister, usque ad mortem aegrotavit: ad quem, in extremis constitutum, Sanctus visitans accessit; Christique invocato nomine, infirmi ad lectulum stans, et pro eo exorans, dixit, 'Exorabilis mihi fias precor, Domine mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de huius carnis habitaculo, me non auferas superstite.' Et hoc dicto aliquantisper conticuit. Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert vocem, dicens, 'Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer[2], sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum.' Cuius haec exoratio est exaudita: nam Diormitius, statim post Sancti exaudibilem precem, plenam recuperavit salutem; per multos quoque annos post Sancti ad Dominum emigrationem supervixit.

CAP. XXXI.

DE FINTENI FILII AIDO IN EXTREMIS POSITI SANITATE.

A similar case.

ALIO quoque in tempore, Sanctus quum trans Britannicum iter ageret Dorsum, quidam iuvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus aegrimonia, ad extrema usque perductus est, nomine Fintenus: pro quo commilitones Sanctum maesti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim, eis compatiens, sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad caelum manus, aegrotumque benedicens, ait, 'Hic, pro quo interpellatis, iuvenculus vita vivet longa; et post omnium nostrum qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta.' Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia

[1] *fortitudine*] This story is told of St. Baithene in his Life (*Acta SS.* Jun. ii. 237 *b*).

[2] *puer*] See p. 94 n.

expletum est: nam idem iuvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator, quod dicitur Kailli-au-inde[1], in bona senectute praesentem terminavit vitam.

CAP. XXXII.

DE PUERO QUEM MORTUUM VIR VENERANDUS IN CHRISTI DOMINI NOMINE SUSCITAVIT.

Another like case.

Illo in tempore, quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia verbum vitae per interpretatorem[2] sancto praedicante viro, audiens credidit, credensque baptizatus est, maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus. Et, post aliquantulum diecularum intervallum paucarum, unus filiorum patrisfamilias, gravi correptus aegritudine, usque ad confinia mortis et vitae perductus est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent, parentibus cum magna exprobratione coeperunt illudere, suosque, quasi fortiores, magnificare deos, Christianorum vero, tanquam infirmiori, Deo derogare. Quae omnia cum beato intimarentur viro, zelo suscitatus Dei, ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit plebeii, ubi parentes nuper defunctae prolis maestas celebrabant exequias. Quos Sanctus valde tristificatos videns, confirmans dictis compellat consolatoriis, ut nullo modo de divina omnipotentia dubitarent. Consequenterque percunctatur, dicens, 'In quo hospitiolo corpus defuncti iacet pueri?' Pater tum orbatus Sanctum sub maestum deducit culmen, qui statim, omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam, solus maestificatum intrat habitaculum, ubi illico, flexis genibus, faciem ubertim lacrymis irrigans, Christum precatur Dominum; et *post* in*geniculationem surgens*, oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens, '*In nomine Domini* Jesu Christi

Cummian, XXV.

[1] *Kailli-au-inde*] Not identified.

[2] *per interpretatorem*] This event seems to have occurred before Columba had acquired the Pictish language sufficiently to address the people. So in the case of Artbranan (i. 33 n., p. 44). But in ii. 33, 34, 35, and iii. 14, we have no mention of an interpreter; SS. Comgall and Canice may however have acted in this capacity at one time. See Intr. vii. § 3.

resuscitare, et *sta super pedes tuos*[1].' Cum hac Sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis, cuius manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione stabiliens, secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus redivivum assignavit. Clamor tum populi attollitur, plangor in laetationem convertitur, Deus Christianorum glorificatur. Hoc noster Columba cum Elia et Eliseo prophetis habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum; et cum Petro et Paulo et Ioanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione; et inter utrosque, hoc est, prophetarum et apostolorum coetus, honorificam caelestis patriae sedem homo propheticus et apostolicus aeternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum[2].

CAP. XXXIII.

DE BROICHANO MAGO OB ANCILLAE RETENTIONEM INFIRMATO, ET PRO EIUS LIBERATIONE SANATO.

Recovery of Broichan the Druid through the use of a pebble.

EODEM in tempore, vir venerandus quandam a Broichano mago[3] Scoticam[4] postulavit servam humanitatis miseratione liberandam: quam cum ille duro valde et stolido retentaret animo, Sanctus ad eum locutus, hoc profatur modo, 'Scito, Broichane, scito quia si mihi hanc peregrinam liberare captivam nolueris, priusquam de hac revertar provincia, citius morieris.' Et hoc coram Brudeo rege dicens, domum egressus regiam, ad Nesam venit fluvium, de quo videlicet fluvio lapidem attollens candidum, ad comites, 'Signate[5],' ait, 'hunc candidum lapidem, per quem Dominus in hoc gentili populo multas aegrotorum perficiet sanitates.' Et hoc effatus verbum consequenter intulit, inquiens, 'Nunc Broichanus

[1] Acts xxvi. 16 Not in Cummian.

[2] *saeculorum*] This doxology reads like the conclusion of a homily.

[3] *Broichanus magus*] Broichan the Druid was foster-father of King Brude; see p. 101.

[4] *Scoticam*] Of Irish extraction, but living in Scotland.

[5] *Signate*] 'Mark,' in the sense of *observe* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 423, Ovid, *Rem. Amor.* 417) or, perhaps, 'sign' with the sign of the cross. On pebble superstitions, see Intr. vii. § 3 n.

fortiter concussus est, nam angelus de caelo missus, graviter illum percutiens, vitream in manu eius, de qua bibebat, confregit in multa biberam [1] fragmenta ; ipsum vero anhelantem aegra reliquit suspiria, morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum expectemus binos regis nuncios, ad nos celeriter missos, ut Broichano morienti citius subveniamus : nunc Broichanus, formidabiliter correptus, ancillulam liberare est paratus.' Adhuc Sancto haec loquente verba, ecce, sicut praedixit, duo a rege missi equites adveniunt, omniaque quae in regis munitione de Broichano, iuxta Sancti vaticinium, sunt acta, enarrantes ; et de poculi confractione, et de magi correptione, et de servulae parata absolutione ; hocque intulerunt, dicentes, 'Rex et eius familiares nos ad te miserunt, ut nutricio eius Broichano subvenias, mox morituro.' Quibus auditis legatorum verbis, Sanctus binos de comitum numero ad regem, cum lapide a se benedicto [2], mittit, dicens, 'Si in primis promiserit se Broichanus famulam liberaturum, tum deinde hic lapillus intingatur in aqua, et sic de eo bibat, et continuo salutem recuperabit : si vero renuerit, refragans absolvi servam, statim morietur.' Duo missi, verbo Sancti obsequentes, ad aulam deveniunt regiam, verba viri venerabilis regi enarrantes. Quibus intimatis regi et nutricio eius Broichano, valde expaverunt : eademque hora liberata famula sancti legatis viri assignatur, *lapis* in aqua intingitur, *mirumque in modum, contra naturam,* lithus [3] in *aquis supernatat,* quasi pomum, vel nux, *nec potuit sancti benedictio* [4] *viri submergi. De quo* Broichanus *natante* bibens lapide, *statim a vicina rediit morte, integramque carnis recuperavit salutem. Talis* vero *lapis, postea, in thesauris regis reconditus, multas in populo* aegritudinum *sanitates,* similiter in

Cummian, XXV.

[1] *biberam*] *Bibera* is a drinking-cup here, *poculum* below. But the monastic Biber or Biberes, and the English Bever or Bevers, were the contents of the cups, not the cups themselves.

[2] *cum lapide a se benedicto*] Basil of Seleucia tells a similar story of St. Thecla sending a round stone and curing Alypius the grammarian. Ussher, *Works,* iii. 442.

[3] *lithus*] = λίθος ; this is the only example of the word in Ducange.

[4] *benedictio*] the blessed pebble ; see Glossary s. v.

aqua natans intinctus, Domino miserante, *effecit.* Mirum dictu, ab his aegrotis, quorum vitae terminus supervenerat, requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei regis quaerebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco, ubi fuerat prius reconditus, inveniebatur.

CAP. XXXIV.

DE BEATI VIRI CONTRA BROICHANUM MAGUM REFRAGATIONE, ET VENTI CONTRARIETATE.

St. Columba sails against the wind.

Post supra memorata peracta, quadam die Broichanus ad sanctum proloquens virum infit[1], 'Dicito mihi, Columba, quo tempore proponis enavigare?' Sanctus, 'Tertia,' ait, 'die, Deo volente et *vita comite*[2], navigationem proponimus incipere.' Broichanus e contra, 'Non poteris,' ait; 'nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere, caliginemque umbrosam superinducere possum.' Sanctus, 'Omnipotentia Dei,' ait, 'omnium dominatur, in cuius nomine nostri omnes motus, ipso gubernante, diriguntur.' Quid plura? Sanctus die eadem, sicut corde proposuit, ad lacum Nesae fluminis longum[3], multa prosequente caterva, venit. Magi vero gaudere tum coepere, magnam videntes superinductam caliginem, et contrarium cum tempestate flatum. Nec mirum haec interdum arte daemonum posse fieri, Deo permittente, ut etiam venti et aequora in asperius concitentur. Sic enim aliquando daemoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo, de Sinu Gallico[4], causa humanae salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti[5],

[1] *infit*] as if without an interpreter.

[2] *vita comite*] From Vulg. of Gen. xviii. 10, 14; cp. 2 Kings iv. 16. The meaning of the Hebrew is not quite certain. See Speaker's *Commentary and Revised Version.*

[3] *longum*] Loch Ness is twenty-four miles long, forming the longest stage in the Caledonian Canal.

[4] *Sinu Gallico*] The *Sinus Gallicus* is what we call the British Channel.

[5] *naviganti*] St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, visited Britain in 429 and 448. The reference is to the earlier visit. About 640 years later, his middle finger was brought to Selby in Yorkshire, and led to the dedication of the noble Abbey Church in his honour.

medio in aequore occurrerant, et opponentes pericula procellas concitabant, caelum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quae tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata detersa cessarunt caligine[1]. Noster itaque Columba, videns contra se elementa concitari furentia[2], Christum invocat Dominum, cymbulamque ascendens, nautis haesitantibus, ipse constantior factus velum contra ventum iubet subrigi. Quo facto, omni inspectante turba, navigium flatus contra adversos mira vectum occurrit velocitate. Et post haud grande intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria cum omnium admiratione revertuntur. Et sic per totam illam diem flabris lenibus secundis flantibus, beati cymba viri optatum pervecta ad portum pulsa est. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir venerandus, in quo Deus omnipotens, talibus praescriptis miraculorum virtutibus, coram plebe gentilica illustre suum manifestavit nomen.

CAP. XXXV.

DE SPONTANEA REGIAE MUNITIONIS PORTAE SUBITA APERTIONE.

The opening of the gates of King Brude.

Alio in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum[3], casu contigit ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio suae munitionis, superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri, non aperiret portas. Quod ut cognovit homo Dei, cum comitibus[4] ad valvas portarum accedens, in primis Dominicae

[1] *caligine*] This incident is related in the Life of St. Germanus by Constantius and in other Lives of St. Germanus and of St. Lupus in the *Acta SS.* Bede adopts Constantius's account with slight alterations and no acknowledgement (*H. E.* i. 17–21).

[2] *furentia*] Loch Ness, like the Lake of Gennesaret and many others, is subject to sudden squalls owing to its position among surrounding hills.

[3] *Brudeum*] There are discrepancies in the authorities as to the chronology of this visit. Reeves fixes on 563 as the most probable date. Bede makes the conversion of Brude and his subjects to precede the donation of Iona, which is in itself probable, but he places the date at 565 (*H. E.* iii. 4). See Intr. vii. § 1.

[4] *comitibus*] SS. Comgall and Cainnech or Canice. See Intr. vii. § 3.

crucis imprimens signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia ponit; quae continuo sponte, retro retrusis fortiter seris, cum omni celeritate aperta sunt. Quibus statim apertis, Sanctus consequenter cum sociis intrat. Quo cognito, rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum[1] egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro, pacificisque verbis blande admodum compellat: et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator, suae omnibus vitae reliquis diebus, valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, honorificentia.

CAP. XXXVI.

DE ECCLESIAE DUORUM AGRI RIVORUM SIMILI RECLUSIONE.

A lock opened without the key.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir beatus aliquantis in Scotia[2] diebus conversatus, ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio Duum Ruris commanebant Rivulorum[3], ab eis invitatus, perrexit. Sed casu aliquo accidit ut, eo ad ecclesiam accedente, claves non reperirentur oratorii. Cum vero Sanctus de non repertis adhuc clavibus et de obseratis foribus inter se conquirentes alios audisset, ipse ad ostium appropinquans, 'Potens est Dominus, ait, domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis.' Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pessulis, sponte aperta ianua, Sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur, et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus, honorabiliter ab omnibus veneratur.

[1] *domum*] Dr. Reeves thought that this was a house inside the vitrified fort on Craig Phadrick, but Dr. Skene placed it among the ditches and ramparts on Torvean. See Intr. vii. § 3 n.

[2] *Scotia*] Note that by this name Ireland is here meant, as elsewhere up to the eleventh century. Adamnan reckons modern Scotland as part of Britannia.

[3] *Duum Ruris Rivulorum*] Tir-daglas, now Terryglass, co. Tipperary, a monastery founded by Colum mac Crimthan, fellow-student of St. Columba at Clonard, who died Dec. 13, 548 (his day). *Duum* (misread *diuini* by Dempster, *Menol.* p. 167) is frequently used for *duorum*. On the remarkable frequency of *two* in Irish place-names, see Joyce, i. 255–261.

CAP. XXXVII.

DE QUODAM PLEBEIO MENDICO CUI SANCTUS SUDEM FACIENS AD IUGULANDAS BENEDIXIT FERAS.

Cummian, XIV.

St. Columba blesses a stake for killing wild beasts.

Alio in *tempore quidam ad Sanctum plebeius venit pauperrimus,* qui in ea habitabat regione quae Stagni litoribus Aporici est contermina. Huic ergo miserabili viro, qui *unde maritam et parvulos cibaret non habebat,* vir beatus petenti, miseratus, ut potuit, quandam largitus eleemosynam, *ait,* '*Miselle homuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina, et ad me ocyus defer.*' Obsecundans miser, iuxta Sancti iussionem, detulit materiam ; *quam Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit* ; quodque *propria* exacuminans *manu,* benedicens, *et* illi assignans *inopi* dixit, '*Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod,* ut credo, nec *homini, nec* alicui *pecori,* nocere poterit, exceptis *feris bestiis* quoque et *piscibus* ; *et quamdiu* talem *habueris* sudem, nunquam in domo tua cervinae carnis cibatio abundans *deerit*[1].' Quod audiens miser mendiculus, valde gavisus, *domum revertitur, veru*que *in remotis infixit* terrulae *locis, quae silvestres frequentabant ferae ; et vicina transacta nocte, mane primo pergit* revisitare volens *veru, in quo* mirae magnitudinis *cervum* cecidisse reperit *transfixum. Quid* plura? *Nulla,* ut nobis traditum est, transire poterat *dies,* qua non aut *cervum, aut cervam, aut* aliquam reperiret in *veru* infixo cecidisse *bestiam.* Repleta quoque tota *de ferinis carnibus* domo, vicinis superflua vendebat, quae hospitium suae domus capere non poterat. *Sed* tamen diaboli invidia per sociam, ut Adam, et hunc etiam miserum invenit ; quae, non quasi prudens, *sed fatua,* taliter ad maritum locuta est, '*Tolle de terra veru* ; nam si in eo homines, aut etiam pecora, perierint, *tu* ipse *et ego cum nostris liberis* aut occidemur aut *captivi ducemur*[2].' Ad haec

[1] *deerit*] St. Wilfrid taught the men of Sussex how to use their eel-nets in the sea, so as to obtain draughts of fishes regarded as miraculous. (Bede, *H. E.* iv. 13.)

[2] *captivi ducemur*] A real danger at that time. See Colg. *Acta SS.* and *Tr. Th.* Indices Morales, s. vv. *Capti, Captivi* ; Joyce, *Hist.* 79.

maritus inquit, 'Non ita fiet; nam sanctus vir mihi, benedicens sudem, dixit quod nunquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit.' Post haec verba mendicus, *uxori consentiens*, pergit, et tollens *de terra veru, intra domum*, quasi amens, illud *secus parietem posuit; in quo mox domesticus eius incidens canis disperiit. Quo pereunte, rursum marita, 'Unus,' ait, 'filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem et peribit.'* Quo audito eius verbo, *maritus veru de pariete removens ad silvam reportat, et in* densioribus *infixit dumis*, ut putabat ubi a nullo posset animante offendi. *Sed postera reversus* die *capream in eo cecidisse* et periisse *reperit. Inde quoque illud removens*, in fluvio qui Latine dici potest Nigra Dea[1], iuxta ripam *sub aquis* abscondens *infixit: quod alia revisitans die, esocem*[2] *in eo* mirae magnitudinis transfixum et retentum *invenit*; *quem* de flumine elevans *vix solus* ad domum *portare* poterat, veruque secum de aqua simul reportans, extrinsecus in superiore tecti affixit loco; *in quo* et *corvus* devolatus, impetu lapsus disperiit *iugulatus. Quo facto*, miser, fatuae *coniugis consilio depravatus, veru tollens de tecto*, assumpta *securi, in plures* concidens *particulas* in ignem proiecit. Et post, quasi suae paupertatis amisso non mediocri solatio, remendicare, ut meritus, coepit. Quod videlicet penuriae rerum solamen saepe superius in veru memorato dependebat, quod pro pedicis, et retibus, et omni venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione, quodque amissum miser plebeius, eo ditatus pro tempore, ipse cum tota familiola, sero licet, omnibus de cetero deplanxit reliquis diebus vitae.

CAP. XXXVIII.

DE LACTARIO UTRE QUEM SALACIA ABSTULIT UNDA ET VENILIA ITERUM REPRAESENTAVIT IN PRIORE LOCO.

Alio in tempore, beati legatus viri, Lugaidus nomine, cognomento Laitirus[3], ad Scotiam iussus navigare proponens,

[1] *Nigra Dea*] Irish *Dubh bandea*, not identified, but *Bandea* (= Dea) occurs in the Book of Armagh as the name of a river in Ireland.

[2] *esocem*] A salmon. See above, p. 87 n.

[3] *Laitirus*] Probably *laidir*, 'fortis.'

inter navalia navis Sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium[1] quaesitum inveniens, sub mari, congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus, madefaciendum posuit; veniensque ad Sanctum quod de utre fecit intimavit. Qui subridens inquit, 'Uter, quem ut dicis sub undis posuisti, hac vice ut aestimo non te ad Hiberniam comitabitur.' 'Cur,' ait, 'non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero?' Sanctus, 'Altera,' inquit, 'die quod res probabit scies.' Itaque Lugaidus mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem pergit; quem tamen salacia noctu subtraxit unda[2]. Quo non reperto, ad Sanctum reversus tristis, flexis in terram genibus, suam confessus est negligentiam. Cui Sanctus, illum consolatus, ait, 'Noli frater pro fragilibus contristari rebus: uter quem salacia sustulit unda, ad suum locum, post tuum egressum, reportabit venilia[3].' Eadem die post Lugaidi de Ioua insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona, Sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus, ait, 'Nunc ex vobis unus ad aequor pergat; utrem, de quo Lugaidus querebatur, et quem salacia sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens, in loco unde subtractus est repraesentavit.' Quo Sancti audito verbo, quidam alacer iuvenis ad oram cucurrit maris, repertumque utrem, sicut praedixerat Sanctus, cursu reversus concito reportans, valde gavisus, coram Sancto, cum omnium qui ibidem inerant admiratione, assignavit. In his, ut saepe dictum est, binis narrationibus superius descriptis, quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et utre, prophetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. Nunc ad alia tendamus.

The recovery of a leathern milk-bag.

[1] *utrem lactarium*] A bag for holding milk, either the whole skin of a single animal, like a wine-skin, or a leather bottle. See O'Curry, *Manners*, etc. Intr. cccIvii, Lectures ii. 117.

[2] *salacia unda*] The seaward or ebbing tide. St. Augustine refers to a notion that the *salacia* and *venilia undae* were named from Salacia the wife of Neptune and Venilia, another divinity connected with the sea, but says, 'Venilia unda est quae ad littus venit, salacia quae in salum redit.' *De Civ. Dei*, vii. 22; cp. *ib.* iv. 10, 11.

[3] *venilia unda*] The coming in or flowing tide. See last note. Other names for the ebb and flood were *ledo* and *malina*. (Ducange.)

CAP. XXXIX.

DE LIBRANO ARUNDINETI PROPHETATIO[1] SANCTI VIRI.

A humble clerk arrives at Iona.

Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Ioua conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeius nuper sumpto clericatus habitu[2], de Scotia transnavigans, ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die Sanctus in hospitio[3] residem hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria, de gente, et causa itineris, a Sancto interrogatus, de Connachtarum[4] regione oriundum se professus est, et ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina longo fatigatum itinere. Cui cum Sanctus, ut de suae poenitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia proposuisset imperia; ipse consequenter ad Sanctum respondens, inquit, 'Paratus sum ad omnia quaecunque mihi iubere volueris, quamlibet durissima, quamlibet indigna.' Quid plura? Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges poenitentiae[5], flexis in terram genibus, se impleturum promisit. Cui Sanctus, 'Surge,' ait, 'et reside.' Tum deinde residentem sic compellat, 'Septennem debebis in Ethica poenitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usquequo

His confession, and penance in Tiree.

[1] *prophetatio*] The object of this long chapter is to show the fulfilment of St. Columba's prophecies that both he and Libran would live seven years after their first interview, that Libran would be set free by his earthly master, that his younger brother would relieve him of the responsibility of maintaining his mother, and that he should live to a good old age as a monk in Tiree, but await his resurrection in Ireland; also, St. Columba's power to change the wind, and to know, while in Iona, what was going on in Ireland.

[2] *sumpto clericatus habitu*] The dress of a monastic associate, novice, or penitent, as would appear from the narrative. Cp. i. 36 n., p. 46.

[3] *hospitio*] The *hospitium* or guesthouse was necessary in all monasteries for occasional visitors; St. Cuthbert had one even in connection with his solitary cell on Farne island. And in Iona it would be an important building.

[4] *Connachtarum*] Of the men of Connaught, at first *Olnegmacht*, but in the third century called *Connact* from *Cuinn iochta*, the race of Conn. (O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., ii. 10, 11; Keating, ed. 1809, p. 14; O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, note by Hardiman, p. 126.)

[5] *leges poenitentiae*] The penitential canons. See above, p. 35 n.

numerum expleas septennalium annorum, Deo donante, victuri sumus.' Quibus Sancti confortatus dictis, grates Deo agens, ad Sanctum, 'Quid me,' ait, 'agere oportet de quodam meo falso iuramento? nam ego quendam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem; post cuius trucidationem quasi reus in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam cognationalis homo eiusdem parentelae, valde opibus opulentus, subveniens, me opportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit[1], et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma iuratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meae diebus vitae serviturum. Sed post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire homini dedignatus, et Deo potius obsecundare malens, desertor illius carnalis domini, iuramentum infringens[2], discessi, et ad te, Domino meum prosperante iter, perveni.' Ad haec Sanctus, virum pro talibus valde angi videns, sicuti prius prophetans, profatur, inquiens, 'Post septenorum, sicut tibi dictum est, expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc, quadragesimalibus venies, ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas.' Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia poenitens obsequitur peregrinus. Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge, ibidem plene expletis in poenitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimae, iuxta eius priorem propheticam iussionem, revertitur. Et post peractam Paschae solemnitatem, in qua iussus ad altare accessit, ad Sanctum de supra interrogans memorato venit iuramento. Cui Sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur, 'Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras, carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo praeparare te debes ad navigationem.' Et inter haec verba machaeram belluinis ornatam dolatis protulit dentibus[3], dicens, 'Hoc

His return to Iona.

[1] *absolvit*] Paid the fine, *eric*, or *blód-wite*, to the nearest of kin to the deceased.

[2] *infringens*] He appears to have been more distressed about breaking his oath to an earthly master, even in order to serve God in monastic penance, than about the murder.

[3] *dentibus*] Solinus, speaking of

accipe tecum portandum munus, quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim bene moratam coniugem, cuius salubri obtemperans consilio, te eadem die gratis, sine pretio, libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens[1] lumbis. Sed hac anxietate solutus, aliam a latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem: nam tui fratres undique coarctabunt te, ut tanto tempore patri debitam, sed neglectam, redintegres pietatem. Tu tamen, sine ulla haesitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans, patrem senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus, quamlibet tibi videatur grave, contristari non debes, quia mox depones: nam ex qua die incipies patri ministrare, alia in fine eiusdem septimanae mortuum sepelies. Sed post patris sepultionem, iterum fratres te acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia[2]. De qua profecto compulsione tuus iunior te absolvet frater; qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus, quod debes, pro te matri serviens reddet.' Post haec verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere, Sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens, omnia, secundum Sancti vaticinium, invenit vere probata. Nam statim, ut pretium suae offerens libertatis ostendit domino, accipere volenti refragans uxor, 'Ut quid nobis, ait, hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet, quam hoc quod offertur pretium.' Audiens itaque maritus hoc maritae salubre consilium, continuo gratis liberavit servum. Qui post, iuxta prophetiam Sancti, compulsus a fratribus, patrem, cui ministrare coepit, septima

His return to his own country.

the Irish, says, 'Qui student cultui, dentibus marinarum belluarum insigniunt ensium capulos, candicant enim ad eburneam claritatem, nam praecipua viris gloria est in armorum nitela.' *Polyhist.* xxii.

[1] *resolvens*] This clause appears to refer to some form of manumission.

[2] *pietatis obsequia*] 'The allusion to filial obligations . . indicates . . a better social and moral condition in Ireland at this date than the tone of the native annals would lead one to expect.' (Reeves.)

die[1] mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto, ut et matri debite deserviret compellitur. Sed, subveniente iuniore fratre, sicut Sanctus praedixerat, vicem eius adimplente, absolvitur. Qui ad fratres sic dicebat, 'Nullo modo nos oportet fratrem in patria retentare, qui per septem annos apud sanctum Columbam in Britannia salutem exercuit animae.' Post quae, ab omnibus quibus molestabatur, absolutus, matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus, ad locum qui Scotice vocitatur [a] Daire Calgaich pervenit. Ibidemque navim sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens, clamitans de litore rogitat, ut ipsum nautae cum eis susciperent navigaturum ad Britanniam. Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum[2], quia non erant de monachis sancti Columbae. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum, quamlibet longe absentem, tamen spiritu praesentem, ut mox res probavit, 'Placetne tibi,' ait, 'sancte Columba, ut hi nautae, qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium, plenis velis et secundis enavigent ventis?' In hac voce ventus, qui ante illis erat secundus, dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter haec videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen[3] cursitantem, subito inter se inito consilio, ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici, 'Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus quia te suscipere renuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc te ad nos in navim invitaverimus, contrarios nunc nobis flatus in secundos convertere poteris?' His auditis, viator ad eos dixit, 'Sanctus Columba, ad quem vado, et cui huc usque per septem annos obsecundavi, si me susceperitis, prosperum vobis ventum a Domino suo, virtute orationum, impetrare poterit.' Quibus auditis, navim terrae approximant, ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant. Qui statim, rate ascensa, 'In nomine Omnipotentis,' ait, 'cui sanctus Columba inculpa-

The wind is changed through St. Columba.

[a] claire Colg. Boll. *litera* d, *quae in cod.* A. *formam* cl *prae se fert, minus observata.*

[1] *septima die*] The third day was the usual day for burial in case of Irish Saints. Intr. iv. § 12.

[2] *refutaverunt eum*] 'bid him begone.'

[3] *flumen*] The Feabhal or Foyle, on which Derry stands.

biliter servit, tensis rudentibus levate velum.' Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda vertuntur, prosperaque usque ad Britanniam plenis successit navigatio velis. Libranusque, postquam ad loca perventum est Britannica, illam deserens navim, et nautis benedicens, ad sanctum devenit Columbam in Ioua commorantem insula. Qui videlicet vir beatus, gaudenter suscipiens eum, omnia quae de eo in itinere acta sunt, nullo alio intimante, plene narravit, et de domino, et uxoris eius salubri consilio, quomodo eiusdem suasu liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte patris, et eius, finita septimana, sepultione; de matre, et de fratris opportuna iunioris subventione; de his quae in regressu acta sunt; de vento contrario, et secundo; de verbis nautarum qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt, de promissione prosperi flatus; et de prospera, eo suscepto in navi, venti conversione. Quid plura? Omnia, quae Sanctus adimplenda prophetavit, expleta enarravit. Post haec verba viator pretium suae quod a Sancto accepit redemptionis assignavit. Cui Sanctus eadem hora vocabulum indidit, inquiens, 'Tu Libranus vocaberis eo quod sis liber[1].' Qui videlicet Libran iisdem in diebus votum monachicum devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro ad monasterium[2], in quo prius septem annis poenitens Domino servivit remitteretur, haec ab eo prophetica de se prolata accepit verba valedicente, 'Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis praesentem. Attamen non in Britannia, sed in Scotia, resurges[3].' Quod verbum audiens, flexis genibus, amare flevit. Quem Sanctus valde maestum videns, consolari coepit dicens, 'Surge, et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris monasteriorum[4],

The traveller arrives again at Iona.

He takes the monastic vow,

[1] *liber*] Reeves cites seven other instances of the name Libran, Libren, or Liber. All were probably named for the same reason.

[2] *monasterium*] Magh Lunge in Tiree. See above, in this chapter.

[3] *resurges*] A good example of the distinction between North Britain and Ireland, also of the habit of looking forward to resurrection rather than to burial.

[4] *monasteriorum*] All were in-

et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monachis; cum quibus in resurrectionem vitae de somno mortis evigilabis.' Qui, a Sancto accepta non mediocri consolatione, valde laetatus est, et Sancti benedictione ditatus, in pace perrexit. Quae Sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta prophetatio. Nam, cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi Lunge post sancti Columbae de mundo transitum, obedienter Domino deserviret, monachus, pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam missus, valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit, pergens per Campum Breg, ad monasterium devenit Roborei Campi; ibidemque, hospes receptus hospitio, quadam molestatus infirmitate, septima aegrotationis die in pace ad Dominum perrexit, et inter sancti Columbae electos humatus est monachos, secundum eius vaticinium, in vitam resurrecturus aeternam. Has de Librano Arundineti sancti veridicas Columbae vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo 'Arundineti' est vocitatus, quia in arundineto multis annis arundines[1] colligendo laboraverat.

is sent on a mission to Ireland, and there dies.

CAP. XL.

DE QUADAM MULIERCULA MAGNAS ET VALDE DIFFICILIORES PARTURITIONIS, UT EVAE FILIA, TORTIONES PASSA.

QUADAM die, Sanctus in Ioua commanens insula, a lectione surgit, et subridens dicit, 'Nunc ad oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula Dominum deprecer femina, quae nunc in Hibernia nomen huius inclamitans commemorat Columbae, in magnis parturitionis difficillimae torta puni-

The relief of a woman in childbirth.

cluded in the *muintir Cholum-cille*, or familia *Columbae-cille*, and owned the abbot of Iona as their common head. Bede regards Durrow in Ireland and Iona in Britain as the two parent monasteries of the order. (*H. E.* iii. 4.)

[1] *arundines*] The reeds would be for thatching and the like, as now in the district of the Norfolk Broads, where churches as well as other buildings are thatched with reeds. So again in Holland, and, indeed, wherever reeds are plentiful.

tionibus, et ideo per me a Domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat, quia et mihi est cognationalis, de meae matris parentela genitorem habens progenitum.' Haec dicens Sanctus, illius mulierculae motus miseratione, ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum exorat. Et post precationem oratorium egressus, ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquiens, 'Nunc propitius Dominus Iesus, de muliere progenitus, opportune miserae subveniens, eam de angustiis liberavit, et prospere prolem peperit, nec hac morietur vice.' Eadem hora, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, misella femina, nomen eius invocans, absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia[1], et de eadem regione ubi mulier inhabitabat, transmeantibus, intimatum est.

CAP. XLI.

DE QUODAM LUGNEO GUBERNETA, COGNOMENTO TUDIDA, QUEM SUA CONIUX ODIO HABUERAT DEFORMEM, QUI IN RECHREA COMMORABATUR INSULA.

A wife reconciled to her husband.

Alio in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Rechrea hospitaretur insula[2], quidam plebeius ad eum veniens, de sua querebatur uxore, quae, ut ipse dicebat, odio habens, eum ad maritalem nullo modo admittebat concubitum accedere. Quibus auditis, Sanctus, maritam advocans, in quantum potuit, eam hac de causa corripere coepit, inquiens, 'Quare, mulier, tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris, Domino dicente, *Erunt duo in carne una*[3]? itaque caro tui coniugis tua caro est.' Quae respondens, 'Omnia,' inquit, 'quaecunque mihi praeceperis, sum parata, quamlibet sint valde laboriosa, adimplere, excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo. Omnem domus curam exercere

[1] *Scotia*] Called *Hibernia* just above.

[2] *Rechrea insula*] Either Rechru (i. 5 n., p. 21), or Rechra, now Lambay, off the coast of Dublin.

[3] *Erunt*, etc.] St. Matt. xix. 5, Vulg.

non recuso, aut, si iubeas, etiam maria transire[1], et in aliquo puellarum monasterio[2] permanere.' Sanctus tum ait, 'Non potest recte fieri quod dicis, nam adhuc viro vivente alligata[3] es a lege viri. Quos enim Deus licite coniunxit nefas est separari[4].' Et, his dictis, consequenter intulit, 'Hac in die tres, hoc est, ego et maritus, cum coniuge, ieiunantes Dominum precemur.' Illa dehinc, 'Scio,' ait, 'quia tibi impossibile non erit ut ea quae vel difficilia, vel etiam impossibilia videntur, a Deo impetrata donentur.' Quid plura? Marita eadem die cum Sancto ieiunare consentit, et maritus similiter: nocteque subsequente Sanctus insomnis pro eis deprecatus est; posteraque die Sanctus maritam praesente sic compellat marito, 'O femina, si[5], ut hesterna dicebas die, parata hodie es ad feminarum emigrare monasteriolum?' Illa, 'Nunc,' inquit, 'cognovi quia tua Deo de me est audita oratio; nam quem heri oderam, hodie amo; cor enim meum hac nocte praeterita, quo modo ignoro, in me immutatum est de odio in amorem.' Quid moramur? ab eadem die usque ad diem obitus, anima eiusdem maritae indissociabiliter in amore conglutinata est mariti, ut illa maritalis concubitus debita, quae prius reddere renuebat, nullo modo deinceps recusaret.

CAP. XLII.

DE NAVIGATIONE CORMACI NEPOTIS LETHANI PROPHETATIO BEATI VIRI.

Alio in tempore Cormacus, Christi miles, de quo in primo huius opusculi libello[6], breviter aliqua commemoravimus pauca, etiam secunda vice conatus est eremum in oceano

[1] *maria transire*] O'Donnell adds 'vel Hierosolimas peregrinari,' ii. 81 (*Tr. Th.* 425 *a*).

[2] *puellarum monasterio*] We have no record of any Columban nunnery; a house of Austin canonesses was founded in Iona in the thirteenth century.

[3] *alligata*] Wrongly connected with *a lege viri*. Cp. Rom. vii. 2; 1 Cor. vii. 39.

[4] *Quos enim*, etc.] Cp. St. Matt. xix. 6.

[5] *si*] Equivalent to the enclitic *ne* in a direct question, as in St. Matt. xii. 10, Vulg., 'Si licet sabbatis curare?' See Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 404.

[6] *libello*] See i. 6, p. 22.

quaerere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum oceanum plenis enavigavit velis, iisdem diebus sanctus Columba, cum ultra Dorsum moraretur Britanniae, Brudeo regi, praesente Orcadum regulo, commendavit, dicens, 'Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigraverunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili invenire optantes; qui si forte post longos circuitus Orcadas devenerint insulas[1], huic regulo, cuius obsides in manu tua sunt, diligenter commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos eius contra eos fiat.' Hoc vero Sanctus ita dicebat, quia in spiritu praecognovit quod post aliquot menses idem Cormacus esset ad Orcadas venturus. Quod ita postea evenit; et propter supradictum sancti viri commendationem, de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina[2]. Post aliquantum paucorum intervallum mensium cum Sanctus in Ioua commoraretur insula, quadam die coram eo eiusdem Cormaci mentio ab aliquibus subito oboritur sermocinantibus, et taliter dicentibus, 'Quomodo Cormaci navigatio, prosperane an non, provenit, adhuc nescitur.' Quo audito verbo, Sanctus hac profatur voce, dicens, 'Cormacum, de quo nunc loquimini, hodie mox pervenientem videbitis.' Et post quasi unius horae interventum, mirum dictu, et ecce inopinato Cormacus superveniens, oratorium cum omnium admiratione et gratiarum ingreditur actione. Et quia de huius Cormaci secunda navigatione beati prophetationem breviter intulerimus viri, nunc et de tertia aeque propheticae eius scientiae aliqua describenda sunt verba.

Prediction respecting Cormac's second voyage.

Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari coepit. Nam cum eius navis a terris per quatuordecim aestei temporis dies, totidemque noctes, plenis velis, austro flante vento, ad septemtrionalis[3] plagam caeli directo excurreret cursu,

[1] *Orcadas insulas*] The Orkneys.

[2] *morte vicina*] Reeves concludes from this that the men of Orkney were still pagans.

[3] *septemtrionalis*] Reeves cites instances of the Irish in early times finding their way to Iceland, Feroe, and the frozen seas.

eiusmodi navigatio ultra humani excursus modum, et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam eiusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam paene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores; quaedam quippe usque in id temporis invisae, mare obtegentes occurrerant tetrae et infestae nimis bestiolae [1], quae horribili impetu carinam et latera, puppimque et proram ita forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum navis [2] penetrales putarentur penetrare posse. Quae, ut hi qui inerant ibidem postea narrarunt, prope magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestae, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles, erant; sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cetera monstra quae non huius est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, valde turbati et pertimescentes, Deum, qui est in angustiis pius et opportunus auxiliator,

Prophetic knowledge regarding Cormac's third voyage.

[1] *bestiolae*] It is suggested to the editor by the Rev. Dr. A. M. Norman, that the creatures referred to must have been the common stinging jelly-fish, *Cyanaea capillata*. He writes, 'They are larger than frogs, but their brown colour, and the fact that the rounded bell of a floating *Cyanaea* above the water is not unlike the rounded back of a frog floating still at the surface, might have suggested the comparison. The jelly fish are often a great impediment to rowing, their long tentacula becoming entangled in the blades of the oars, and fishermen know too well the effect of their stinging-filaments when they handle ropes, nets, or oars, or anything that has come in contact with the jelly-fish.' As to shoals of medusae in the North Sea, Dr. Norman refers us to Baster, *Opuscula Subseciva*, 1765, t. ii. p. 60, quoted in Lesson, *Hist. Naturelle des Zoophytes*, Paris, 1843, and Mr. Elton, in his *Origins of Engl. Hist.* 1890, p. 70 n., refers to Pontoppidan, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 182 and Kircher, *Mundus Subterr.* ii. 129.

[2] *navis*] The *curach* or coracle. A small one was called 'navis unius pellis' or 'de uno corio.' Larger ones were covered with two or more skins. The keels and gunwales were of wood, and the sides of wicker-work, on which the skins were stretched. Reeves quotes a minute account of the building of a curach from the Life of St. Brendan (the skins were greased with butter) and gives a number of references to passages bearing on the subject. On coracles see Caes. *Bell. Civ.* i. 54; Plin. *N. H.* ed. Sillig, vii. 57; Lucan, *Phars.* iv. 130–136; Solinus, ed. 1689, cap. 22; Gildas, *De excid.*, cap. 15; Muirchu in Stokes's *Tripartite*, 288; *Tripartite*, 223; Giraldus, *Topog. Hib.*, Dist. iii. cap. 26; Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, ii. 179–189; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, part iii, ch. 34. To Reeves's reff. to later writers, add Pocock's *Tour*, p. 64; Stokes, *Celtic Ch.*, 115.

illacrymati precantur. Eadem hora et sanctus noster Columba, quamlibet longe absens corpore, spiritu tamen praesens, in navi cum Cormaco erat. Unde, eodem momento, personante signo[1], fratres ad oratorium convocans, et ecclesiam intrans, astantibus sic, more sibi consueto, prophetizans profatur, dicens, 'Fratres, tota intentione pro Cormaco orate, qui nunc humanae discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit, nunc quasdam monstruosas, ante non visas, et paene indicibiles, patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque nostris commembribus in periculo intolerabili constitutis mente compati debemus fratribus, et Dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus cum suis nautis, faciem lacrymis ubertim irrigans, Christum intentius precatur; et nos ipsum orando adiuvemus, ut Austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per quatuordecim dies, nostri miseratus, in Aquilonem convertat; qui videlicet Aquiloneus ventus navem Cormaci de periculis retrahat.' Et haec dicens, flebili cum voce, flexis genibus ante altarium, omnipotentiam Dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem precatur rerum. Et post orationem cito surgit, et abstergens lacrymas, gaudenter grates Deo agit, dicens, 'Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur, pro quibus oramus, caris: quia Dominus Austrum nunc in Aquilonarem convertet flatum nostros de periculis commembres retrahentem, quos huc ad nos iterum reducet.' Et continuo cum eius voce Auster cessavit ventus, et inspiravit Aquiloneus per multos post dies, et navis Cormaci ad terras redacta est. Et pervenit Cormacus ad sanctum Columbam, et se, donante Deo, facie in faciem, cum ingenti omnium admiratione viderant et non mediocri laetatione. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus, qui talem propheticam habens scientiam, ventis et oceano, Christi invocato nomine, potuit imperare.

[1] *signo*] 'Signum,' which has eight other meanings in Ducange, is one of the many synonyms of *campana*, a bell, 'quia sonitu illius datur signum sive indicium faciendi aliquid.' Rocca, *De Campanis*, Opp. 1719, i. 159. 'Signo personante' occurs in ch. iii. 13.

CAP. XLIII.

DE VENERABILIS VIRI IN CURRU EVECTIONE ABSQUE CURRILIUM OBICUM COMMUNITIONE.

Protection of a car with insecure wheels.

Alio in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies Sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus[1] coactus, currum[2] ab eo prius benedictum[3] ascendit iunctum; sed non insertis primo, qua negligentia accedente nescitur, necessariis obicibus[4] per axionum extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem diecula Columbanus filius Echudi, vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur lingua Snamluthir[5], qui operam aurigae in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat Columba. Fuit itaque talis eiusdem agitatio[6] diei per longa viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque[7] separatione sive labefactatione, nulla, ut supra dictum est, obicum retentione vel communitione retinente. Sed sola diali sic venerando praestante gratia viro, ut currus cui insederat salubriter, absque ulla impeditione, recta incederet orbita.

Huc usque de virtutum miraculis quae per praedicabilem virum, in praesenti conversantem vita, divina operata est omnipotentia, scripsisse sufficiat[8]. Nunc etiam quaedam de

[1] *utilitatibus*] Probably a visitation of monasteries, hardly the convention of Drumceatt, as assumed by O'Donnell, *Tr. Th.* 433 *b*.

[2] *currum*] See i. 38 n.

[3] *benedictum*] 'Iuxta morem' no doubt, as in the case of the milk-pail, ch. 16.

[4] *obicibus*] Linch-pins, used, as at present, with fixed axles. So in a metrical Life of St. Bridget we find 'Axis solus erat, currusque sine obice abibat,' *Tr. Th.* 591 *b*. Another way of securing wheels was by a *roseta* or hub, in which case the axle revolved with the wheels, as in tricycles, and in some modern Irish carts. 'Auriga . . rosetas oblitus est ponere contra rotas . . Episcopus . . vidit illum (currum) rosetas non habere,' *Vit. Tert. S. Brig. Tr. Th.* 532 *a*.

[5] *Snamluthir*] Slanore, in Granard, co. Longford. *Snamhluthir* is the swimming-ford of Luthir; the name has passed through the forms *Snawlougher* and *Snalore* to its present form.

[6] *agitatio*] We must remember what roads were 'before they were made.'

[7] *humerulorumque*] The shoulders or portions of the axles on to which the wheels were fixed.

[8] *sufficiat*] The short recension ends here, with the words 'animadvertere lector debet, quod et de compertis in eo multa propter

his quae post eius de carne transitum [1] ei Domino donata comprobantur, pauca sunt commemoranda.

CAP. XLIV.

DE PLUVIA POST ALIQUOT SICCITATIS MENSES BEATI OB HONOREM VIRI SUPER SITIENTEM, DOMINO DONANTE, TERRAM [a] EFFUSA.

Cummian, XXVI.

Rain after long drought.

ANTE annos namque ferme quatuordecim [2], in his torpentibus terris valde *grandis verno tempore facta est siccitas* iugis et dura, in tantum ut illa Domini in Levitico libro transgressoribus coaptata populis comminatio videretur imminere, qua dicit, *Dabo caelum vobis desuper sicut ferrum, et terram aeneam. Consumetur incassum labor vester; nec proferet terra germen, nec arbores poma praebebunt* [3]; et cetera. Nos itaque haec legentes, et *imminentem plagam pertimescentes*, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus, ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum campum cum sancti Columbae candida circumirent tunica [4], et libris stylo ipsius descriptis; levarentque *in aere*, et excuterent eandem per ter *tunicam, qua* etiam *hora exitus* eius de carne *indutus erat*; et eius aperirent libros, et legerent in Colliculo Angelorum [5], ubi

[a] miraculum quod nunc domino propitio describere incipimus nostris temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis *add.* B.

legentium praetermissa sunt fastidium.' Ch. 46 ends nearly in the same form in the full recension.

[1] *transitum*] Some of these have been related in i. 1, pp. 11–13.

[2] *quatuordecim*] The drought was probably partial, not being recorded in the Annals as some are. Cummian begins this chapter 'Post mortem viri Dei.' 'Now if this be a genuine work, and if the writer be Cuimine Ailbe, it will follow that the present chapter of Adamnan was written between 679 and 683: for Cummian, who relates the occurrence, died in 669, and therefore that is the latest date to which we can add the 14 years in the text, which brings us to 683, four years after Adamnan's elevation to the abbacy of Hy.' (Reeves.)

[3] *praebebunt*] Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, Vulg.

[4] *tunica*] The inner garment. St. Martin took off his *tunica* for a poor man, and was then 'extrinsecus indutus amphibalo, veste nudus interius.' Sulp. Sev. *Dial.*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* col. 201.

[5] *Colliculo Angelorum*] Cnoc Angel, a conspicuous round sand-hill, covered with sheep-nibbled verdure, in the Machar or western plain in Iona. It is called *Sithean Mor* (great fairies' hill) to distinguish it from *Sithean Beg* (little fairies' hill), a similar mound a

aliquando caelestis patriae cives ad beati viri condictum visi sunt descendere. *Quae* postquam *omnia* iuxta initum sunt *peracta* consilium, *mirum dictu, eadem die* caelum, in praeteritis mensibus, Martio videlicet et Aprili[1], nudatum nubibus, mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus illico opertum est, et *pluvia facta* est magna, die noctuque descendens ; et sitiens prius terra, satis satiata, opportune germina produxit sua, et valde *laetas eodem anno segetes.* Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri in tunica et libris commemorata multis regionibus eadem vice et populis salubri subvenit opportunitate.

CAP. XLV.

DE VENTORUM FLATIBUS CONTRARIIS VENERABILIS VIRI VIRTUTE ORATIONUM IN SECUNDOS CONVERSIS VENTOS.

The wind changed on three occasions.

Praeteritorum, nobis, quae non vidimus, talium miraculorum praesentia, quae ipsi perspeximus, fidem indubitanter confirmant. Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi vicibus in secunda vidimus conversa. Prima vice cum dolatae[2] per terram pineae et roboreae traherentur longae

little to the north-west. There is a *Mons Angelorum* (Carn Ingli) in Pembrokeshire, and at Ripon is Elveshou, now 'Ailcey' hill. Colgan in a note on his *Tertia vita S. Patr.* (*Tr. Th.* 32 *a*) writes '*viri Sidhe* ab Hibernis spiritus phantastici vocantur, ex eo quod ex amoenis collibus quasi prodire conspiciantur, ad homines infestandos : et hinc vulgus credat eos quasi in quibusdam subterraneis habitaculis intra istos colles habitare, haec autem habitacula et aliquando ipsi colles ab Hibernis *Sidhe*, vel *Siodha* vocantur.' (Cf. eiusdem *Acta SS.* 56 *b*.) The fairies' hills of pagan mythology became Angels' hills in the minds of the early Christian saints,

'Tun'd by Faith's ear to some celestial melody.'

Christian Year, 3rd S. in Lent. In this case there is a special reason for the name ; see iii. 16.

[1] *Aprili*] Reeves seems to infer that the sowing was done immediately after the rain, and therefore earlier than June, the usual time for sowing barley in Iona at present. But the text says no more than that the thirsty soil was saturated, and that in the same year there was a good harvest.

[2] *dolatae*] 'Dug-out' or hollowed out of single trees. A fine example was found at Brigg in Lincolnshire in April 1886, and

naves, et magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus; beati viri vestimenta et libros, inito consilio, super altare, cum psalmis et ieiunatione, et eius nominis invocatione, posuimus, ut a Domino ventorum prosperitatem nobis profuturam impetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro, Deo donante, factum est: nam ea die qua nostri nautae, omnibus praeparatis, supra memoratarum ligna materiarum proposuere scaphis per mare et curucis[1] trahere, venti, praeteritis contrarii diebus, subito in secundos conversi sunt. Tum deinde per longas et obliquas vias tota die prosperis flatibus, Deo propitio, famulantibus, et plenis sine ulla retardatione velis, ad Iouam insulam omnis illa navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

Secunda vero vice, cum, post aliquantos intervenientes annos, aliae nobiscum roboreae ab ostio fluminis Sale[2], duodecim[3] curucis congregatis, materiae[4] ad nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium, alio die tranquillo nautis mare palmulis verrentibus, subito nobis contrarius insurgit

is preserved there. It is of oak, 48 ft. 6 in. long, and 4 ft. 6 in. across, and was apparently a hollow tree to begin with. See an illustrated account of this and notices of others in *Archaeologia*, vol. 50, p. 361. Reeves mentions some of great length found in bogs and lakes, referring to Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 101.

[1] *curucis*] Curruces or coracles. Three kinds of vessels are mentioned in this chapter, *naves longae dolatae*, *scaphae*, and *curucae*. Elsewhere we have *barca*, i. 28; *navicula*, i. 1, etc.; *navis oneraria*, ii. 3; *alnus*, ii. 27; *caupallus*, ib.; *cymba*, *cymbula*, ii. 34. The *curucae* had *antennae*, *vela*, *remi*, and *rudentes*, ii. 42, 45.

[2] *Sale*] A river from which a S.E. wind brought ships to Iona, possibly the Seil in Lorne.

[3] *duodecim*] Reeves shows how largely adopted this number was not only in almost every department of religious economy but in secular use also.

[4] *roboreae materiae*] The construction of timber buildings was called *mos Scottorum*, and that of stone *mos Romanorum*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations to show that wood was the rule and stone the exception until about the twelfth century. See also Petrie on *Round Towers*, Index. In England it was much the same, hence our word *timber*, properly building-material, from A.S. *timbrian*, to build. In the 'stone-carpentry' and turned baluster shafts of our earliest stone buildings in this country, we have reminiscences of the wooden structures that preceded them. It is hardly necessary to point out that wood is the ordinary building-material in many countries at the present day. Cp. p. 72, note 2.

Favonius, qui et Zephyrus ventus, in proximam tum declinamus insulam, quae Scotice vocitatur Airthrago[1], in ea portum ad manendum quaerentes. Sed inter haec de illa importuna venti contrarietate querimur, et quodammodo quasi accusare nostrum Columbam coepimus, dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, haec nobis adversa retardatio? huc usque a te, Deo propitio, aliquod nostrorum laborum praestari speravimus consolatorium adiumentum, te videlicet aestimantes alicuius esse grandis apud Deum honoris.' His dictis, post modicum, quasi unius momenti, intervallum, mirum dictu, ecce Favonius ventus cessat contrarius, Vulturnusque flat, dicto citius, secundus. Iussi tum nautae antennas, crucis instar[2], et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus, prosperisque et lenibus flabris eadem die nostram appetentes insulam, sine ulla laboratione, cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris cooperatoribus, in lignorum evectione gaudentes, devehimur. Non mediocriter, quamlibet levis, illa querula nobis sancti accusatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud Dominum meriti Sanctus apparet, quem in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

Tertia proinde vice, cum in aesteo tempore, post Hiberniensis synodi condictum[3], in plebe Generis Loerni[4] per aliquot, venti contrarietate, retardaremur dies, ad Saineam devenimus insulam; ibidemque demoratos festiva sancti Columbae nox[5] et solemnis dies nos invenit valde tristificatos, videlicet desiderantes eandem diem in Ioua facere laetificam insula. Unde, sicut prius alia querebamur vice,

[1] *Airthrago*] S.E. of Iona, unidentified unless it be Arran.

[2] *crucis instar*] A suggestion of the value of the sign of the cross.

[3] *condictum*] There is no means of knowing what particular synod this was. Adamnan attended a synod of forty bishops or abbots (*antistites*) c. 695, and an earthen enclosure at Tara was called the Rath of the synods; with this the name of Adamnan was traditionally connected, and on the east side of it is the *Crux Adamnani*. He may have attended synods of the Irish clergy in order to promote the acceptance of the Roman Easter.

[4] *Generis Loerni*] Cinell Loairn, the tribe of Lorne in Argyleshire.

[5] *nox*] The vigil or eve of St. Columba.

dicentes, 'Placetne tibi, Sancte, crastinam tuae festivitatis inter plebeios et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare[1] ut contrarii in secundos vertantur venti, et in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis[2] missarum solemnia.' Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane consurgimus, et videntes cessasse contrarios flatus, conscensis navibus, nullo flante vento, in mare progredimur[3], et ecce statim post nos Auster cardinalis[4], qui et Notus, inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautae vela subrigunt: sicque ea die talis, sine labore, nostra tam festina navigatio, et tam prospera, beato viro donante Deo, fuit, ut, sicuti prius exoptavimus, post horam diei tertiam[5] ad Iouae portum pervenientes insulae, postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta[6] ecclesiam cum fratribus intrantes, sacra missarum solemnia pariter celebraremus, in festo die inquam natalis sanctorum[7] Columbae et Baithenei: cuius diluculo, ut supradictum est, de Sainea insula[8], longius sita, emigravimus. Huius ergo praemissae narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni, secundum legem[9], sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant.

[1] *impetrare*] St. Columba was invoked during his life on earth from distant places (ii. 5, 13, 39, 40) and after his decease his intercession was sought in the same way (ii. 44, 45, 46). It never occurred to the congregation of Iona that when their master had been taken from them he would be less able to hear and to help them.

[2] *Natalis*] *dies* is the festival of a saint, commemorating his birth into the future life 'quia ut saeculo et mundo moriuntur, ita tunc caelo nascuntur.' Beleth, *Div. Off.* 4. See further in Ducange. The day of birth into this world is usually distinguished as *Nativitas*, but, in ii. 9, Adamnan has *Natalitium Domini*.

[3] *progredimur*] By rowing.

[4] *Auster cardinalis*] The wind due south. The cardinal points are those which lie (1) in the direction of the earth's poles (*cardines*, from *cardo* a hinge, pivot, point about which the earth turns), (2) in the direction of sunrise and sunset.

[5] *tertiam*] It was about thirty miles, a six hours' sail.

[6] *sexta*] Note that mass was celebrated at noon on this occasion.

[7] *sanctorum*] On this coincidence see Intr. viii. § 1.

[8] *Sainea insula*] Shuna, in Nether Lorne, parish of Kilchattan.

[9] *legem*] Deut. xix. 15; St. Matt. xviii. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

CAP. XLVI.

DE MORTALITATE.

Et hoc etiam, ut aestimo, non inter minora virtutum miracula connumerandum videtur de mortalitate[1], quae nostris temporibus terrarum orbem bis[2] ex parte vastaverat maiore. Nam, ut de ceteris taceam latioribus Europae regionibus, hoc est, Italia[3] et ipsa Romana civitate, et Cisalpinis Galliarum provinciis, Hispanis quoque Pyrinaei montis interiectu disterminatis, oceani insulae per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibis vastatae sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae[4], inter quos utrosque Dorsi montes[5] Britannici disterminant. Et, quamvis utrorumque populorum non desint grandia peccata, quibus plerumque ad iracundiam

The great plague.

The Picts and Scots.

[1] *mortalitate*] The great plague of 664, of which Bede gives an account in *H. E.* iii. 27. There were renewed outbreaks in Ireland as well as in England during the rest of the century. The Four Masters under 684 mention a mortality throughout the whole world for three years in which not one in a thousand animals escaped, and in the same year a frost in which all the lakes and rivers in Ireland were frozen, and there was communication on the ice between Ireland and Scotland. At Jarrow in 685 the services had to be carried on, owing to the plague, by the abbot Ceolfrith and his little pupil, who grew up to be the venerable Bede. The disease was a virulent bilious fever known as the *flava pestis* or *pestis ictericia*. Reeves has collected a number of quotations relating to it.

[2] *bis*] So *binis vicibus*, just below. Tighernach records a former appearance of the same disease in Ireland in 550, which Adamnan may have included 'nostris temporibus.' See too the Four Masters under 543 and 548. Under the latter date they call this 'the *first* Buithe Chonaill' (jaundice). Their authorities are of course the original annals.

[3] *Italia*, etc.] The Four Masters record under 543 'an extraordinary universal plague through the world, which swept away the noblest third part of the human race.' How it affected St. Columba is related above. Intr. vi. § 3.

[4] *Britanniae*] In later Lives it is said that St. Columba by his prayers during the former plague obtained that it should not pass the Moyola water into Ulster. See above, Intr. vi. § 4. The *Scoti Britanniae* were the Irish colony which had existed in some form even before the Dalriadic settlement in 502.

[5] *montes*] See *Britanniae Dorsum*, i. 34 n., p. 44.

aeternus provocatur iudex; utrisque tamen huc usque, patienter ferens, ipse pepercit. Cui alii itaque haec tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto Columbae, cuius monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata. Sed hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus, ut arbitramur non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi, qui se Sanctorum orationibus a morbis defensos nescientes, ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero Deo agimus crebras grates, qui nos et in his nostris insulis, orante pro nobis venerabili patrono, a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit; et in Saxonia, regem Aldfridum visitantes amicum[1] adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum Ecfridi[2] visitatione, et in secunda[3], interiectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moreretur, nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo.

and St. Columba's people protected.

Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber: in quo animadvertere lector debet, quod, etiam de compertis, in eo multa propter legentium evitandum praetermissa sint fastidium.

[a] FINITUR SECUNDUS [a] LIBER.

[a–a] ΦINITVP CHKVNDVC AIBEP *literis graecis uncialibus* A. explicit liber secundus B. C. F. S.

[1] *amicum*] On the relations between Adamnan and Aldfrith, and on this visit, see Intr. viii. § 10.

[2] *bellum Ecfridi*] The expedition into Ireland reprobated by Bede in *H. E.* iv. 26, A.D. 684, when Ecgfrith sent Beret, his general, 'and miserably wasted that harmless nation.' The invasion may have been occasioned by the Irish having harboured Aldfrith. Ecgfrith was slain in battle with the Picts in the following year.

[3] *secunda*] Adamnan visited his royal pupil at least twice in Northumbria, partly in order to obtain the return of captives taken by Beret. 'Adomnanus captivos reducsit ad Hiberniam sexaginta.' *Ann. Ult.* s. a. 686. Tighernach dates this visit 687, and has a similar entry, s. a. 689.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA[1] TERTII LIBRI.

De Angelicis Apparitionibus quae vel aliis de beato viro, vel eidem de aliis, revelatae sunt. (*Praefatio.*)

De angelo Domini qui eius genitrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem apparuit. (I.)

De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem viso. (II.)

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Brendenus, beati comites viri, per campum viderat commeantes. (III.)

De angelo Domini quem sanctus Fennio beati viri socium itineris vidit. (IV.)

De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum Columbam in Himba commorantem insula per visum apparuit, missus ut Aidanum in regem ordinaret. (V.)

De angelorum apparitione alicuius Brittonis animam ad caelum vehentium. (VI.)

De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro visione, qui animam alicuius Diormitii ad caelum ducebant. (VII.)

De angelorum contra daemones forti belligeratione, Sancto in eodem bello opportune subvenientem. (VIII.)

De angelorum apparitione quos vir Dei viderat alicuius animam nomine Columbi, fabri ferrarii, Coilrigini cognomento, ad caelos evehere. (IX.)

De angelorum simili visione, quos vir beatus aspexerat alicuius bene moratae feminae animam ad caelum ferre. (X.)

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Columba

[1] *capitula*] Supplied from Cod. B. See note above, p. 66.

obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendeni animae, illius monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur. (XI.)

De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti Columbani episcopi, Moculoigse, animam ad caelum evexerant. (XII.)

De angelorum apparitione qui obviam animabus sancti monachorum Comgelli descenderant. (XIII.)

De angelorum manifestatione alicuius Emchathi animae obviantium. (XIV.)

De angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat. (XV.)

De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa ad beati condictum viri de caelo descendentium. (XVI.)

De columna luminosa sancti viri de vertice ardere visa. (XVII.)

De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione quae in eadem insula, tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum. (XVIII.)

De angelicae lucis claritudine, quam Virgnous, bonae indolis iuvenis, qui post, Deo auctore, huic praefuit ecclesiae, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum Columbam in ecclesia, fratribus hiemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat. (XIX.)

De alia prope simili celsae claritudinis visione. (XX.)

De alia parili divinae lucis apparitione. (XXI.)

De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro apparitione ; quos sanctae eius animae obviare incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturae. (XXII.)

De transitu ad Dominum sancti nostri patroni Columbae. (XXIII.)

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA TERTII LIBRI.

[a]HIC TERTIUS LIBER ORDITUR,

DE ANGELICIS [a]VISIONIBUS

PRAEFATIO.

In Primo ex his tribus libellis libro, ut superius commemoratum est, de Propheticis Revelationibus quaedam breviter succincteque, Domino navante, descripta sunt. In Secundo superiore, de Virtutum Miraculis, quae per beatum declarata sunt virum, et quae, ut saepe dictum est, plerumque prophetationis comitatur gratia. In hoc vero Tertio, de Angelicis Apparitionibus, quae vel aliis de beato viro, vel ipsi de aliis, revelatae sunt; et de his, quae utroque, quamlibet disparili modo, hoc est, ipsi proprie et plenius, aliis vero improprie, et ex quadam parte, sunt manifestatae, hoc est extrinsecus et explorative, in iisdem tamen, vel angelorum vel caelestis visionibus lucis: quae utique talium discrepantiae visionum suis caraxatae locis inferius clarebunt. Sed nunc, ut a primordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem describere angelicas apparitiones incipiamus:

Summary of the entire work.

CAP. I.

Angelus Domini in somnis genitrici venerabilis viri *quadam nocte inter conceptum* eius *et partum* apparuit, eique *quasi*

[a–a] incipit textus tertii libri de angelicis visionibus B. incipit liber tertius de angelicis apparitionibus et de transitu sancti columbae C. D. F. S.

quoddam mirae pulchritudinis peplum[1] *adsistens detulit; in quo veluti universorum decorosi colores florum depicti videbantur; quod*que *post aliquod breve intervallum eius de manibus reposcens abstulit; elevansque et expandens in aere dimisit vacuo. Illa vero* de illo tristificata sublato, *sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum, 'Cur a me,' ait, 'hoc lactificum tam cito abstrahis pallium?' Ille consequenter, 'Idcirco,' inquit, 'quia hoc sagum alicuius est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius* retinere non poteris.' His *dictis,* supra memoratum *peplum mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in maius crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus maiore sui mensura superare*[2]*; vocemque huiuscemodi subsecutam audierat, 'Mulier,* noles tristificari, *viro enim cui matrimoniali* es *iuncta* foedere *talem filium editura es floridum, qui quasi unus prophetarum Dei inter ipsos connumerabitur, innumerabiliumque animarum dux ad caelestem a Deo patriam est praedestinatus.' In hac audita voce mulier expergiscitur.*

Cummian, I.

An angel appears to the mother of St. Columba.

CAP. II.

DE RADIO LUMINOSO SUPER DORMIENTIS IPSIUS PUERI FACIEM VISO.

ALIA in nocte, eiusdem *beati pueri nutritor*[3]*, spectabilis*

[1] *peplum*] Reeves refers to a similar vision of a tree, in the Life of St. Kiaran of Clonmacnoise (*Cod. Marshii*, cap. 21), interpreted by St. Enna. Also to a mother's vision about her son Finnian, in Colgan, *Acta SS.* 393 *a*.

[2] *superare*] The old Irish Life seems to imply that it reached from Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the N. E. coast of Scotland.

[3] *nutritor*] Foster-father. Many Irish saints are described as placed in childhood with clerical guardians. So St. Cuthbert in the Irish *Libellus de ortu*, cap. xv, where we are told of St. Cuthbert's *nutritor* that he was 'vir quidam magnus inter omnes Hybernenses, cui prae multimoda suae sanctitatis opinione nobiliores quique patriae Dei servicio filios suos informandos contradiderant.' Joseph is styled by Adamnan 'Domini Iesu nutritor' (*De Loc. Sanct.* i. 14). Cp. 2 Kings (4 Reg.) x. 5, in the Vulgate. On fosterage in Ireland, see O'Curry, *Manners*, etc., 355, 375; *Laws of Ireland*, Indices, and Joyce, *Hist.* 85.

vitae vir, presbyter Cruithnechanus[1], post missam *ab ecclesia ad* hospitiolum revertens, *totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam luce*[2]*; globum quippe igneum super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. Quo viso, statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram* vultu valde *miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super* suum *intellexit* alumnum *caelitus effusam.*

Cummian, II.

A heavenly light on St. Columba when an infant.

CAP. III.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS BRENDENUS BEATI COMITES VIRI PER CAMPUM VIDERAT COMMEANTES.

Post namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quodam synodo[3] pro quibusdam veniabilibus et tam excusabilibus causis, non recte, ut post in fine claruit, sanctus excommunicaretur Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem sanctus vidisset Brendenus[4], illius monasterii fundator quod Scotice Birra[5] nuncupatur, citius surgit, et inclinata facie, eum veneratus exosculatur. Quem cum aliqui illius seniores coetus seorsim ceteris redarguerent semotis, dicentes, 'Quare coram excommunicato surgere eteum exoscularinon renueris?'

The vision of St. Brendan at Teltown.

[1] *Cruithnechanus*] Cruithnechan, diminutive of Cruithnech, Pict.

[2] *luce*] A regular incident in hagiology, as in the cases of St. Cuthbert and St. Wilfrid, and four Irish saints mentioned by Reeves, who cites two classical examples, Virg. *Aen.* ii. 682; Liv. i. 39.

[3] *synodo*] It is not known when this synod was held, or for what St. Columba was condemned. Ussher places it in 561, immediately after the battle of Cuil-Dreimhne, and thinks it was assembled to condemn St. Columba's action in bringing about that battle. (*Wks.* vi. 468, and Chronological Index.)

[4] *Brendenus*] St. Brendan, founder of Birr, of the race of Corb Aulam, to be distinguished from St. Brendan of Clonfert. He died on the night before Nov. 29, his day in the Calendar, probably in 573. Ann. Tighernach at 559 has 'Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem.'

[5] *Birra*] Genitive of Bior or Bir, a stream, here the proper name of Moyola Water, co. Londonderry, on which the monastery stood. The town Birr is now called Parsonstown.

taliter ad eos inquiens, 'Si vos,' ait, 'videritis ea quae mihi Dominus hac in die de hoc suo, quem dehonoratis, electo manifestare non dedignatus est, nunquam excommunicassetis quem Deus non solum, secundum vestram non rectam sententiam, nullo excommunicat modo, sed etiam magis ac magis magnificat.' Illi e contra, 'Quomodo,' aiunt, 'ut dicis, ipsum glorificat Deus, quem nos non sine causa excommunicavimus, scire cupimus?' 'Ignicomam et valde luminosam,' ait Brendenus, 'columnam vidi eundem quem vos despicitis antecedentem Dei hominem. Angelos quoque sanctos per campum eius itineris comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo praeordinatum video.' His ab eo dictis, non tantum, ultra Sanctum excommunicare non ausi, cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt. Hoc famen[1] factum est hi[2] Teilte[3].

CAP. IV.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUEM SANCTUS FINNIO[4] BEATI VIRI SOCIUM ITINERIS VIDIT.

Alio in *tempore, vir sanctus* venerandum *episcopum Finnionem, suum* videlicet *magistrum, iuvenis senem, adiit; quem*

[1] *famen*] Reeves gives *tamen*, but Cod. A. has *famen*; cp. *ῥῆμα*; Adamnan could scarcely know דָּבָר. *Famen* occurs again in iii. 15.

[2] *hi*] The Irish preposition for *in*, often found before proper names elsewhere, e.g. in Muirchu, Stokes, *Tripart.* 283, 'cuius reliquiae adorantur hi Sleibti,' i.e. in Sletty, and in the *Tripartite*. (*ib.* 222) ocus luid for muir hicurach oenseiched, 'and he went on the sea in a coracle of one hide.' So in the Calendar called 'of Oengus,' ed. Stokes, clxxv. hicurchan cenchodail, 'in a coracle without a hide.'

[3] *Teilte*] A place in Meath between Kells and Navan, famous in early times for its great Lammas fair, also a seat of royalty; hence, like Tara, a suitable place for a synod. It is now called Teltown, a name formed from Tailteann, the Irish genitive. The great circular rath, about 100 paces in diameter, still remains in fair preservation. It was 'till recently resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and other manly sports,' says Dr. O'Donovan in his note on 'Four Masters,' vol. i. p. 22 (1856), but in 1893 a car-driver from Kells drove past it and found it at last with some difficulty.

[4] *Finnio*] Cummian calls him Finnianus. Probably St. Finnian of Moville is meant, as he was certainly a bishop, and St. Co-

cum sanctus Finnio ad se *appropinquantem* vidisset, *angelum Domini pariter eius comitem itineris vidit: et*, ut nobis ab expertis traditur, *quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiens*, '*Ecce nunc* videatis *sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere* socium *angelum* caelicolam.' *Iisdem diebus*[1] *Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis*[2] *ad Britanniam transnavigavit.*

Cummian, III. — The vision of St. Finnio. — Cummian. IV.

CAP. V.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI AD SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN HINBA COMMORANTEM INSULA PER VISUM APPARUIT, MISSUS UT AIDANUM IN REGEM ORDINARET.

Alio in tempore, cum *vir* praedicabilis *in Hinba* commoraretur *insula, quadam nocte in ecstasi mentis angelum Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum*[3]*: quem*

Cummian. V.

lumba was *iuvenis*. But there is no reference to St. Columba in the Life of that St. Finnian, while in the Life of St. Finnian of Clonard, who however is only called a bishop in one place, Columba is mentioned as a disciple, and the present interview is referred to. On the same uncertainty see note on ii. 1, p. 70.

[1] *iisdem diebus*] In Cummian the third chapter ends 'qui sui commeatus habere meruit angelum Domini,' and the fourth chapter begins 'Hiisdem diebus,' etc., and then proceeds to relate the miracle of the water and wine (*supra*, ii. 1). As St. Columba is described as *iuvenis* by both writers in both connexions, there seems to be a grave anachronism, for he was forty-two when he sailed over into Britain with twelve disciples.

[2] *discipulis*] Their names are given in Cod. B. in a later though early hand, probably from records preserved at Iona, thus: 'Duo filii Brenden, Baithene, qui et Conin, sancti successor Columbae; et Cobthach, frater eius; Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbae; Diormitius, eius ministrator; Rus, et Fechno, duo filii Rodain; Scandal filius Bresail filii Endei filii Neil; Luguid Mocuthemne; Echoid: Tochanna Mocufircetea; Cairnaan filius Branduib filii Meilgi; Grillaan.' See Reeves, 1857, p. 245; 1874, pp. lxxi, 228, for reff. to other places where the list appears, and for notes on the names.

[3] *vitreum librum*] Perhaps so called from glass or crystal on its covers. Note however that it is not a description of an actual book, but only of an imaginary *codex* seen in an ecstatic vision, like that related by Bede, in which 'candidum codicem protulerunt angeli, deinde atrum daemones.' *H. E.* v. 13.

cum vir venerandus *de manu angeli* accepisset, ab eo iussus, *legere coepit. Qui* cum *secundum* quod ei in libro erat *commendatum*[1] *Aidanum in regem ordinare* recusaret, quia *magis* Iogenanum *fratrem eius* diligeret, *subito angelus, extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello*[2], *cuius* livorosum *in eius latere vestigium omnibus suae diebus permansit vitae. Hocque intulit verbum, 'Pro certo scias,'* inquiens, 'quia ad te *a Deo* missus sum cum vitreo libro, *ut* iuxta verba quae in eo legisti, *Aidanum in regnum ordines. Quod si* obsecundare huic nolueris iussioni, *percutiam te iterato.'* Hic *itaque angelus Domini*, cum *per tres continuas noctes*, eundem in manu vitreum habens codicem, apparuisset, *eademque* Domini iussa *de* regis eiusdem *ordinatione* commendasset, *Sanctus*, verbo obsecutus Domini, *ad Iouam transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque Aidanum*, iisdem *adventantem* diebus, *in regem*, sicut erat iussus, *ordinavit.* Et *inter ordinationis verba, de filiis et nepotibus pronepotibusque eius futura* prophetizavit[3]: *imponensque manum super caput eius, ordinans benedixit*[4].

An angel instructs St. Columba to ordain Aidan king.

St. Columba prophesies.

[1] *commendatum*] This word seems to refer to some special recommendation with regard to Aedhan which Columba thought he saw in the book, probably a suggestion of his own conscience mingling with the vision.

[2] *flagello*] In a fragment of Caius (c. A. D. 200) preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 28) it is said how one Natalius, who had been a 'bishop' among heretics, was severely beaten by holy angels for a whole night. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 131. Bede relates how Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a vision in which he was scourged by St. Peter for thinking of forsaking his flock (*H. E.* ii. 6; see also Alcuin in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 519, and Laurence's epitaph in Elmham's *Hist. Mon. S. Aug. Cant.* Rolls Ser. p. 149). St. Jerome writes how he was scourged while in an ecstasy for his love of heathen literature (*Ep.* xxii. § 30). See Bright's *Chapters of E. E. Ch. Hist.* 103. In the life of St. Corpreus of Clonmacnoise it is related how Malachi I, king of Ireland, was scourged by demons. Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* 508. Symeon relates how St. Cuthbert appeared to one Ralph (probably Flambard) in his sleep, and smote the oppressor of his people with his crosier. *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.* iii. 20.

[3] *prophetizavit*] For a similar prophecy, see i. 9, p. 24.

[4] *benedixit*] Conventual rather than episcopal rank was the qualification most considered for the consecrator of a Scotic king. And St. Columba stood in the same relation to the Dalriadic kings that the abbot of Armagh occupied towards the sovereigns of Ireland.

Cummeneus Albus[1], in libro[2] quem de virtutibus sancti Columbae scripsit, sic dixit quod sanctus Columba de Aidano et de posteris eius, et de regno suo, prophetare coepit, dicens, '*Indubitanter crede, O Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius* fraudulentiam agas *in me et in posteros meos.* Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni huius de manibus suis perdant. In quocumque enim tempore adversum me aut adversus cognatos meos qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint, *flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui,* per manum Dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur.'

Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est, in bello Roth[3], Domnail Brecco, nepote[4] Aidani, sine causa vastante provinciam Domnill nepotis[5] Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis[6]: quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit. The fulfilment.

[1] *Cummeneus Albus*] Seventh abbot of Iona. Intr. viii. § 6.

[2] *libro*] The Life of St. Columba by Cummian. It is the first Life in Colgan's collection, though published by him as anonymous, under the mistaken belief that the second Life therein is Cummian's. It was afterwards published, with small variations, in the works mentioned above, in the Preface.

[3] *Roth*] Magh Rath, supposed to be Moira in county Down. The battle was fought in 637.

[4] *nepote*] Grandson; he was son of Eochodius Buidhe, who as a child had rushed into St. Columba's arms, and been named by him to succeed his father as king (i. 9). From this use of *nepos* comes the older use of 'nephew for grandson,' as in 1 Tim. v. 4.

[5] *nepotis*] Grandson, being son of Aedh, son of Ainmire.

[6] *in proclivo ab extraneis*] In decline or decadence caused by strangers. The text of Cummian gives the fulfilment more precisely; 'Quod ita factum est; mandatum namque viri Dei transgredientes, regnum perdiderunt,' cap. v. Reeves thinks the last words refer to the departure of the sceptre from the house of Gabhran to that of Loarn, which happened about 681, and that, as Cummian died 669, the passage must be a later addition. For *proclivum* (neut. adj. as subst.) see Georges, *Wortformen*, s. v.

CAP. VI.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE ALICUIUS BEATI BRITONIS ANIMAM AD CAELUM VEHENTIUM.

Cummian, VI, XXV.

St. Columba sees a soul taken to heaven.

Alio in *tempore*, cum *vir sanctus in Ioua* commoraretur *insula*, *quidam* de suis monachis, Brito[1], bonis actibus intentus, molestia correptus corporis, *ad extrema perductus est*. *Quem cum* vir venerandus *in hora sui visitaret exitus*, *paulisper* ad lectulum *eius assistens*, et ei *benedicens*, *ocius domum egreditur*, *nolens videre morientem*. *Qui eodem momento* post sancti de domu secessum viri praesentem finiit vitam. Tum *vir* praedicabilis, *in* plateola[2] *sui deambulans monasterii*, porrectis ad caelum oculis, diutius *valde obstupescens*, *admirabatur*. Quidam vero frater, Aidanus nomine, filius Libir, bonae indolis et religiosus homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit hora, flexis genibus, rogare coepit ut Sanctus eidem tantae admirationis causam intimaret. *Cui Sanctus*, '*Nunc sanctos angelos* in aere *contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi*; *Christoque agonothetae*[3] *gratias ago quia victores angeli animam huius peregrini*, qui primus apud nos in hac insula mortuus est[4], ad caelestis patriae gaudia

[1] *Brito*] A British monk at Iona, probably St. Odhran.

[2] *plateola*] See note on *platea*, i. 50, p. 63.

[3] *agonothetae*] Originally the superintendent of the public contests in games, here applied to Christ as the witness of a conflict.

[4] *primus mortuus est*] There is a curious story in the old Irish Life, quoted by Reeves here, about St. Odhran expressing his willingness to be the first to be buried in Iona, and then dying. The principal and now only cemetery in Iona is still called *Reilig Orain*, the cemetery of Odhran, *Reilig* or *Relic* being a common Irish term for a cemetery, and connected with *Reliquiae*. The story referred to may be founded on this of Adamnan concerning 'Brito,' or on some other tradition of a real conversation between Columba and Odhran, distorted by passing through minds on which pagan ideas retained considerable hold. It all but implies that Odhran offered himself to be buried alive, to which local tradition long after added the still more ghastly circumstance, that once, when the tomb was opened, he was found alive, and uttering such fearful words that the grave had to be closed immediately. Celtic hagiology affords

evexerunt. *Sed hoc quaeso sacramentum nemini* in vita mea *reveles.*'

CAP. VII.

DE ANGELORUM REVELATA EIDEM SANCTO VIRO VISIONE, QUI ANIMAM ALICUIUS DIORMITI AD CAELUM DUCEBANT.

Alio in tempore, quidam Hiberniensis peregrinus ad Sanctum perveniens, per aliquot apud eum menses in Ioua commanebat insula. Cui vir beatus alia die, 'Nunc,' ait, 'quidam de provincialibus tuis clericis ad caelum ab angelis portatur, cuius adhuc ignoro nomen.' Frater vero, hoc audiens, coepit secum de provincia perscrutari Anteriorum[1] qui Scotice Indairthir[2] nuncupantur, et de illius beati hominis vocabulo; hocque consequenter intulit verbum, inquiens, 'Alium Christi scio militonem qui sibi in eodem territorio, in quo et ego commanebam, monasteriolum construxit, nomine Diormitium.' Cui Sanctus ait, 'Ipse est de quo dicis, qui nunc ab angelis Dei in paradisum deductus est.' Sed hoc etiam non negligenter adnotandum est, quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a Deo arcana, ab aliis celata, sacramenta, nullo modo in hominum notitiam prodi passus sit, duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucis intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus; hoc est, ut iactantiam devitaret, et ad insustentabiles turbas de se divulgata revelationum fama, semetipsum interrogandum, aliqua interrogare volentes, non invitaret.

A similar vision.

at least one other example of a supposed parallel to the Hindoo custom of dharna, in the voluntary self-cremation of Miliuc, St. Patrick's old master (Muirchu in Stokes, *Tripart.* 276). On the same in modern times see Carleton, *Traits*, etc. 1860, ii. 95 n. He says, 'It is not, I believe, more than forty, or perhaps fifty years, since a priest committed his body to the flames for the purpose of saving his soul by an incrematory sacrifice.' But the legend of St. Odhran has possibly arisen out of the ancient superstition that a building could be made secure by walling up a human being alive (cp. 1 Kings xvi. 34; Joshua vi. 26) or some animal, in the foundations. See Elton, *Origins*, etc., 263.

[1] *Anteriorum*] See i. 43 n., p. 55.

[2] *Indairthir*] Compounded of *ind*, an old form of article in nom. pl., and *airthir*, easterns.

CAP. VIII.

DE ANGELORUM CONTRA DAEMONES FORTI BELLIGERATIONE SANCTO IN EODEM BELLO OPPORTUNE SUBVENIENTIUM.

Cummian, IX.

A conflict between good and evil angels.

ALIA die, vir sanctus, in Ioua conversans insula, *remotiorem ab hominibus locum, aptumque* ad orationem, *in saltibus quaesivit: ibidemque cum* orare coepisset, *subito,* ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratribus, videt *contra se nigerrimam daemonum cum ferreis verubus aciem procliari: qui, sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum revelatum erat, monasterium eius invadere, et multos ex fratribus iisdem volebant iugulare sudibus*[1]. *Ipse vero contra* tales aemulos unus homo innumeros, accepta Pauli armatura apostoli[2], forti conflictu *dimicabat. Et ita ex maiore diei parte utrinque dimicatum est, nec innumerabiles unum vincere poterant,* nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere; *donec angeli Dei,* ut Sanctus post quibusdam non multis retulerat, *in adminiculum affuere; quorum timore* proturbati daemones *loco cessere.* Eademque die, Sanctus ad monasterium post daemoniorum reversus de sua insula effugationem, hoc de eisdem turmis hostilibus verbum profatur, inquiens, 'Illi exitiabiles aemuli qui hac die de huius terrulae, Deo propitio, regione, angelis nobis subvenientibus, ad Ethicam effugati sunt[3] terram, ibidemque saevi invasores fratrum monasteria invadent, et pestilentes inferent morbos, quorum molestia infestati, multi morientur.' Quod iisdem

[1] *sudibus*] Properly stakes, but here the iron darts just mentioned; perhaps to be taken figuratively as referring to the pestilences mentioned below. Cp. Ps. xci. 5. Hom. *Il.* A. 48.

[2] *armatura apostoli*] Eph. vi. 13–17. Bede represents St. Cuthbert as using the same spiritual armour when he drove the fiends from Farne. *Vit. S. C.* 17.

[3] *effugati sunt*] There is a wild legend of later date to the effect that after St. Patrick had driven the demons into the sea they emerged and dwelt in the savage wilds of Seangleann in S. W. Donegal, where they remained undisturbed until St. Columba at the bidding of an angel drove them once for all into the sea after a violent conflict, and with the help of his bell, the *Dubhduaibseach.* The parish of Glencolumbcille derives its name from this legend, as told by Manus O'Donnell in 1520.

diebus, iuxta beati praescientiam viri, ita et factum est. Et post, interveniente biduo, ei revelante Spiritu, 'Bene,' ait. 'Baitheneus, auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut eiusdem ecclesiae cui, Deo auctore, praeest, in Campo Lunge, ieiuniis et orationibus collectio[1] a daemonum defendatur invasione: ubi nemo, excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur.' Quod ita, iuxta vaticinium eius, expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceteris eiusdem insulae monasteriis[2] eodem morbo morerentur, nemo, nisi unus de quo Sanctus dixit, apud Baitheneum in sua est mortuus congregatione.

CAP. IX.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUOS VIR DEI VIDERAT ALICUIUS ANIMAM, NOMINE COLUMBI, FABRI FERRARII, COILRIGINI COGNOMENTO, AD CAELOS EVEHERE.

The soul of a blacksmith carried to heaven.

QUIDAM faber ferrarius in [a]mediterranea[3] Scotiae habitabat [a] parte, eleemosynarum operibus satis intentus, et ceteris iustitiae actibus plenus. Hic, cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur, supra memoratus Columbus cognominatus Coilriginus[4], eadem hora qua de corpore eductus est, sanctus Columba in Ioua commanens insula, paucis quibusdam se circumstantibus sic profatus senioribus, 'Columbus Coilriginus,' ait, 'faber ferrarius, non incassum laboravit, qui de propria manuum laboratione suarum praemia, emax[5], felix, comparuit aeterna. Ecce enim, nunc anima eius a sanctis vehitur angelis ad caelestis patriae gaudia. Nam

[a–a] media parte hybernie que vocatur midi habitabat D.

[1] *collectio*] Called *congregatio* just below.

[2] *monasteriis*] Adamnan mentions Artchain as well as Campus Lunge, and, considering its extent, the ecclesiastical remains and names of places from Saints, etc. are very numerous in Tiree.

[3] *mediterranea*] Durrow is placed there in i. 3, p. 18, where see note; cp. Joyce, *Hist.* 130.

[4] *Columbus Coilriginus*] A smith in mid-Ireland, possibly of the tribe Cailraighe. Colum Gobha, 'the smith,' is in the Calendars at June 7.

[5] *emax*] Fond of buying, like edax, bibax, furax, etc.

quodcunque de suae artis negotiatione acquirere potuit, in egenorum eleemosynas expendit.'

CAP. X.

DE ANGELORUM SIMILI VISIONE QUOS VIR BEATUS ASPEXERAT ALICUIUS BENE MORATAE FEMINAE ANIMAM AD CAELUM FERRE.

Also that of a good woman.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir sanctus in Ioua conversans insula, quadam die, subito oculos ad caelum dirigens, haec profatus est verba, 'Felix mulier, felix bene morata, cuius animam nunc angeli Dei ad paradisum evehunt.' Erat autem quidam religiosus frater, Genereus nomine, Saxo[1], [a] pistor, opus [b] pistorium exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore Sancti prolatum. Eademque die mensis, eodem terminato anno, Sanctus eidem Genereo Saxoni, 'Miram rem video,' ait; 'ecce, mulier de qua, te praesente, praeterito dixeram anno nunc mariti sui religiosi cuiusdam plebeii in aere obviat animae, et cum sanctis angelis contra aemulas pro ea belligerat potestates: quorum adminiculo, eiusdem homuncionis iustitia suffragante, a daemonum belligerationibus erepta, ad aeternae refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta.'

CAP. XI.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE SANCTORUM QUOS SANCTUS COLUMBA OBVIOS IN TRANSITU VIDERAT BEATI BRENDENI ANIMAE, ILLIUS MONASTERII FUNDATORIS QUOD SCOTICE BIRRA NUNCUPATUR.

ALIA *itidem die*, dum vir venerandus in Ioua conversaretur

[a] A. B. C. D. F. S. pictor Colg. Boll.
[b] A. pistorum B. C. D. F. S. pictorium Colg. Boll.

[1] *Saxo*] See i. 1 n., p. 12.

[2] *pistor*] Colgan and the Bollandists, perhaps misled by an error in a transcript, read *pictor*. This reading has led Keller and Westwood to refer to the passage as supposed evidence of the cultivation of painting or illumination in Iona, while Dr. John Smith, in his *Life of St. Columba*, has accused Colgan 'and other Catholics' of wilfully altering the word to justify paintings.

insula, mane primo *suum advocat* saepe memoratum *ministratorem Diormitium* nomine, eique praecipit, *inquiens*, 'Sacra *celeriter Eucharistiae ministeria praeparentur. Hodie enim natalis*[1] *beati Brendeni dies.*' '*Quare*,' *ait minister*, '*talia* missarum[2] solemnia hodierna praeparari *praecipis? nullus enim* ad nos *de Scotia* sancti illius viri *obitus* pervenit *nuncius.*' '*Vade*,' tum ait *Sanctus*, '*meae obsecundare iussioni* debes. *Hac enim nocte praeterita*[3] *vidi subito apertum caelum, angelorumque choros sancti Brendeni animae obvios descendere: quorum luminosa et incomparabili claritudine totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis.*'

Cummian, VII.

Angels descend to meet the soul of St. Brendan of Birr.

CAP. XII.

DE ANGELORUM VISIONE SANCTORUM QUI SANCTI COLUMBANI EPISCOPI, MOCU LOIGSE, ANIMAM AD CAELUM EVEXERANT.

Quadam itidem *die, dum fratres*, se calceantes, mane *ad* diversa monasterii *opera* ire praepararent, *Sanctus e contra* ea *die otiari praecipit, sacraeque oblationis obsequia*[4] *praeparari, et aliquam*, quasi in Dominico[5], *prandioli adiectionem fieri.* '*Me*que,' ait, 'hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animae *quae hac in nocte*[6] *inter* sanctos angelorum choros *vecta*, ultra siderea caelorum spatia ad paradisum, ascendit, *sacra oportet Eucharistiae celebrare mysteria*[7].' Et his dictis *fratres obsequuntur*, et, iuxta Sancti

Cummian, VIII.

Angels bear the soul of a bishop to Paradise.

[1] *natalis*] See ii. 45 n., p. 124.

[2] *missarum*] The term *missa* was, as here, commonly applied to the Eucharistic service, but was not limited to it. See Intr. iv. § 7, and note on *vespertinalem missam*, ch. 23, p. 158.

[3] *nocte praeterita*] As in the case of St. Columba, the death during the night was commemorated on the following day. *Hac in nocte* is used of the previous night in ch. 12; cp. Cummian viii. (*nocte in hac*).

[4] *obsequia*] From the classical senses of obedience, and military service, naturally followed the ecclesiastical senses of pomp, ceremony, ritual. *Obsequia* here means 'ritual requirements.' *Obsequium* and *Obsequiae* came to be used especially of funeral rites, for which special ritual was employed; hence our word *obsequies*.

[5] *in Dominico*] We have here an early example of the 'Sunday dinner.'

[6] *hac in nocte*] See note on ch 11.

[7] *mysteria*] Cummian adds 'pro

iussionem, eadem *ociantur die:* praeparatisque sacris, *ad ecclesiam,* ministeriis, *quasi die solenni* [a] albati [1] *cum Sancto pergunt.* Sed forte, dum inter talia cum modulatione [2] officia [b]illa consueta decantaretur [b]deprecatio [3], in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito Sanctus ad cantores, eiusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes, '*Hodie* [4]' *ait,* '*pro sancto Columbano episcopo* decantare debetis [5].' *Tunc* omnes qui inerant *fratres intellexere quod Columbanus* [6]*, episcopus Lagenensis* [7]*, carus Columbae amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post* alicuius temporis *intervallum, aliqui de Lagenica commeantes provincia* [8] *ea nocte eundem obiisse nunciant episcopum qua* Sancto ita revelatum est [9].

[a] A. abbati B. C. sabbati Colg. Boll.
[b–b] illam consuetam deprecaretur prefacionem D.

anima sancta quae nocte in hac inter angelos vecta est.' See note on ch 11.

albati] Used again in chs. 16 and 23, and probably with reference to linen garments, not to white as a 'liturgical colour.' 'Sabbati' is another instance of corruption of the text in Colgan and the Bollandists.

[2] *cummodulatione*] See i. 42 n., p. 54.

[3] *deprecatio*] The *Oratio super Diptycha,* represented in the Roman Mass by the *Memento Domine* in the Canon. The Gallican form of the prayer as used at Arles is given by Mabillon (*De Liturg. Gall.* lib. i. cap. 5, num. 12, p. 43) and by Reeves in his note here. Something like this prayer was probably used by the early Irish Church, and it is remarkable that in the list of names which it contains, St. Martin comes last, with the exception of the local Bishop Caesarius, who died in 542, and is not likely to have been commemorated in Iona. St. Martin however was held in special veneration in the Celtic Church by reason of St. Patrick's alleged association with him.

[4] *Hodie*] Immediately before this word Cummian says 'Et inter sacra sancti sacrificii mysteria.'

[5] *decantare debetis*] St. Columba directed them to add the name of Columbanus after that of Martin, and perhaps composed on the spot Proper prayers like those in Neale and Forbes' *Ancient Liturgies,* e. g. on p. 305. The seventh century MS. from which these were taken came from the Irish monastery of Bobio (*ib.* p. 205). On prayer for the dead, see Warren, ch. ii. § 10.

[6] *Columbanus*] sive *Colmanus Mocu Loigse,* i.e. Mac U Loighse, of the clan descended from Loigsech Cennmor, son of Conall Cernach, a famous hero of the first century.

[7] *Lagenensis*] *In,* not 'of' Leinster, diocesan episcopacy being then unknown in Ireland.

[8] *Lagenica provincia*] Leinster. The original name was Galian; this is said to have been changed to Laighen not from the name of a man, but from the use there of a peculiar broad-pointed spear so called. On the termination *-ster,* see i. 2 n.

[9] *revelatum est*] The whole narra-

CAP. XIII.

DE ANGELORUM APPARITIONE QUI OBVIAM ANIMABUS SANCTI MONACHORUM COMGELLI DESCENDERANT.

Angels come to the aid of holy souls.

Alio in tempore, vir venerandus, cum in Ioua conversaretur insula, quadam subitatione incitatus, signo[1] personante, collectis fratribus, 'Nunc,' ait, 'oratione monachis abbatis Comgelli auxiliemur, hac in hora in Stagno demersis Vituli[2]; ecce enim hoc momento in aere contra adversarias belligerant potestates, animam alicuius hospitis simul cum eis demersi eripere conantes.' Tum, post lacrymosam et intentam orationem cito ante altarium surgens, inter fratres pariter in oratione prostratos, laetificato vultu, 'Christo,' ait, 'gratias agite, nunc enim sancti angeli, sanctis obviantes animabus, et ipsum hospitem, ereptum a daemonum belligerationibus, quasi victoriales liberarunt belligeratores.'

CAP. XIV.

DE ANGELORUM MANIFESTATIONE ALICUIUS EMCHATHI ANIMAE OBVIANTIUM.

Angels come for the soul of an aged convert.

Alio in tempore, vir sanctus, ultra Britanniae Dorsum iter agens, secus Nisae fluminis lacum, subito inspiratus Spiritu Sancto, ad fratres pariter commeantes, 'Properemus,' ait, 'sanctis obviam angelis, qui de summis caeli regionibus ad praeferendam alicuius gentilici animam emissi, nos illuc usque pervenientes expectant, ut ipsum, naturale bonum[3] per totam vitam usque ad extremam senectutem conservantem, priusquam moriatur, opportune baptizemus.' Et, haec dicens, sanctus senex in quantum potuit comites festinus praecedebat, donec in illum devenit agrum qui Airchart-

tive is very similar to that of the death of Haduuald in Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ch. 34.

[1] *signo*] See ii. 42 n., p. 118.

[2] *Stagno Vituli*] In Irish Loch Laodh, now Belfast Lough.

[3] *naturale bonum*] See i. 33 n., p. 43, and *Senchus Mór*, iii. 27; 'The law of nature was with the men of Erin until the coming of the faith in the time of Laeghaire son of Nial. It was in his time Patrick came.'

dan [1] nuncupatur: ibidemque quidam repertus senex, Emchatus nomine, audiens a Sancto verbum Dei praedicatum, et credens, baptizatus est, et continuo, laetus et securus, cum angelis obviantibus ei, ad Dominum commigravit. Sed et filius eius Virolecus credens cum tota domo est baptizatus.

CAP. XV.

DE ANGELO DOMINI QUI ALICUI FRATRI LAPSO DE MONASTERII CULMINE ROTUNDI IN ROBORETI CAMPO OPPORTUNE TAM CITO SUBVENERAT.

Cummian, X.

An angel helps one who fell down a round tower.

ALIO *in tempore, vir* sanctus, *dum in* tuguriolo [2] *suo scribens sederet, subito eius immutata facies, et hanc puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens, 'Auxiliare, auxiliare.' Duo vero fratres ad ianuam stantes* [3], videlicet Colgu, filius Cellachi, et Lugneus Mocublai, *causam* talis *subitae* interrogant *vocis. Quibus vir* venerabilis *hoc dedit responsum*, inquiens, '*Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter* vos *stabat, iussi ut* alicui *ex fratribus de* summo *culmine* magnae *domus* [4] *lapso tam cito subveniret, quae* his in diebus in Roboreti Campo *fabricatur.' Hocque consequenter Sanctus intulit* famen [5], inquiens, '*Valde admirabilis et paene indicibilis est angelici volatus pernicitas, ful-*

[1] *Airchart-dan*] Glen Urquhart, locally pronounced Arochdan.

[2] *tuguriolo*] See note on i. 25.

[3] *ad ianuam stantes*] From this passage and those referred to in note on i. 25, it would seem that St. Columba while sitting in his cell was usually attended by one or two of the brethren, to receive orders, or take part in study.

[4] *magnae domus*] In the heading, *monasterii rotundi*. Dr. Petrie has shown that an ecclesiastical round tower is almost certainly what is meant. (*Round Towers*, 1845, p. 387; but his account of the MSS. is wrong; see Reeves here.) Reeves observes that this passage points to the primary use of round towers as monastic abodes distinct from the small cells, before they acquired the name of *Cloc teach* or *Campanile* from a secondary use. The building of this *maior domus* seems to be referred to in i. 29. Notker Balbulus says 'Cum sederet in quadam insula scribens, et in alia *domus altissima* aedificaretur, et quidam *de culmine eius enormis fabricae* ad terram corruere coepisset,' etc. (Martyrol. Jun. 9, in Canisii *Lect. Antiq.* 1725, t. II, pars iii. p. 140). Petrie does not seem to have known of this passage, which is quoted by Reeves in ed. 1857, p. 217. Notker (of St. Gall) died 912.

[5] *famen*] See iii. 3 n.

gureae, ut aestimo, celeritati parilis. Nam ille caelicola, qui hinc a nobis nunc, illo *viro labi* incipiente, avolavit, *quasi in ictu oculi, priusquam terram tangeret, subveniens, eum sublevavit; nec ullam fracturam* aut laesuram ille qui cecidit sentire potuit. *Quam stupenda, inquam,* haec velocissima *et opportuna subventio, quae, dicto citius, tantis* maris et terrae *interiacentibus* spatiis, *tam celerrime*[1] *effici potuit.'*

CAP. XVI.

DE ANGELORUM MULTITUDINE SANCTORUM VISA AD BEATI CONDICTUM VIRI DE CAELO DESCENDENTIUM.

Cummian, XI.

Many angels visit St. Columba at the Angels' hill: an over-curious brother.

Alio itidem *in tempore,* quadam die, vir beatus in Ioua conversans insula, *fratribus congregatis,* cum ingenti animadversione, denunciavit, ad eos dicens, '*Hodie in occidentalem nostrae* campulum[2] *insulae solus exire cupio; nemo* itaque *ex vobis me sequatur*[3].' *Quibus obsecundantibus, solus quidem, ut voluit, egreditur. Sed frater quidam, callidus explorator*[4], *alia means via,* in cuiusdam monticelli[5] cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, se occulte collocat; videlicet illius causam solitariae beati egressionis viri *explorare cupiens.* Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice, in quodam illius campuli colliculo *stantem, et expansis ad caelum manibus orantem, oculosque* ad caelum *elevantem* conspiceret, *mirum dictu, et ecce subito res miranda apparuit,* quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut aestimo, non sine permissione Dei, de propioris monticelli loco, oculis etiam corporalibus aspexerat, ut nomen Sancti et eius honorificentia, quamvis ipso nolente, ob hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis devul-

[1] *celerrime*] Cp. Dan. ix. 21.

[2] *campulum*] See i. 37 n., p. 48.

[3] *nemo me sequatur*] Not even the ordinary field-work was to interfere with the privacy of the saint.

[4] *callidus explorator*] Like the Coldingham brother who stole out at night to watch St. Cuthbert praying in the sea. Bede, *Vit. S. C.* x.

[5] *monticelli*] Probably *Cnoc Orain,* between the monastery and the Machar, and commanding a view of the Colliculus Angelorum.

garetur. Nam *sancti angeli*, caelestis patriae cives, *mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare coeperunt, albatis induti* vestibus ; et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro, illa caelestis caterva, quasi se exploratam sentiens, *ad summa* citius repedavit caelorum. *Beatus et ipse vir, post angelicum condictum*, reversus ad monasterium, iterum *collectis fratribus*, cum quadam *non mediocri obiurgatione* inquirit quis de illis esset transgressionis obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus, *ille, conscius* sui *inexcusabilis* transgressus, ultra non sustinens delictum celare suum, *flexis genibus*, in medio fratrum choro, coram Sancto, *veniam* supplex *precatur. Quem Sanctus seorsum ducens, ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione*, ut nulli hominum de illa angelica visione in diebus eiusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum aperiret. Post egressum vero de corpore sancti viri, illam caelestis coetus apparitionem *fratribus cum grandi intimavit protestatione.* Unde *hodie*que et *locus illius* angelici condicti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui Latine potest dici *Colliculus Angelorum*, Scotice vero Cnoc Angel[1]. Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, et non negligenter perscrutandum, quantae et quales ad beatum virum, in hyemalibus plerumque noctibus, insomnem, et in locis remotioribus, aliis quiescentibus, orantem[2], angelicae fuerint et suaves frequentationes, quae nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam

Injunction to silence.

Midnight watchings and visions.

[1] *Cnoc Angel*] See ii. 44 n., p. 120. From *sidh*, pronounced *shee*, comes the Irish *bean-sidhe* (Banshee), woman of the fairy mansions, *sidhe* signifying not only the fairies, but their habitations. Joyce, I. 179, *Hist.*, 139 ; O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 504, and see *N.E.D.*

[2] *orantem*] O'Donnell states that St. Columba recited the Psalter every night immersed in cold water. As to St. Cuthbert, see p. 145 n. Hence the couplet under a painting at Carlisle Cathedral,

Her stude he nakyd in y^e^ se
to all dauid psalter sayd had he.

St. Godric used to pray naked in the Wear the night through, hindered neither by ice nor by snow (*Libell. de Vita*, xxxiii). Reeves gives a number of references to Irish hagiology for subjecting the body to extreme cold. Add to these, for St. Patrick, *Tripartite*, 407, 485.

potuere : quae procul dubio valde numerosae fuerunt ; si etiam quaedam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus, vel in die vel noctu explorari potuerint ; quae absque dubitatione paucae admodum ad earum comparationem angelicarum frequentationum, quae videlicet a nemine sciri poterant. Hoc idem similiter et de quibusdam luminosis manifestationibus annotandum, quae a paucis exploratae, inferius [a] caraxabuntur.

CAP. XVII.

DE COLUMNA LUMINOSA SANCTI VIRI DE VERTICE ARDERE VISA.

Cummian, XII.

The appearance of a comet on St. Columba's head.

Alio in *tempore quatuor*, ad *sanctum* visitandum *Columbam*, monasteriorum sancti fundatores *de Scotia* transmeantes, *in Hinba* eum invenerunt *insula* ; quorum illustrium vocabula Comgellus Mocu Aridi, Cainnechus Mocu Dalon, Brendenus Mocu Alti, Cormacus Nepos Leathain. Hi *uno eodemque consensu* elegerunt ut sanctus Columba coram ipsis in ecclesia *sacra* Eucharistiae consecraret *mysteria*. Qui, eorum obsecundans iussioni, simul cum eis, *die Dominica* ex more, *post Evangelii* lectionem [1], ecclesiam ingreditur, ibidemque, dum missarum sollemnia celebrarentur, sanctus Brendenus Mocu Alti, sicut post Comgello et Cainnecho intimavit, *quendam* criniosum [2] *igneum globum, et valde luminosum, de vertice sancti Columbae, ante altare stantis, et sacram oblationem consecrantis, tamdiu* ardentem, *et instar alicuius columnae sursum* ascendentem, vidit, *donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta ministeria.*

[a] taxabuntur D. tractabuntur *male* Colg. Boll.

[1] *post Evangelii lectionem*] This looks as if the Gospel was read outside the little church, to persons in the position of catechumens (cp. Bona, *Rer. Lit.* lib. I, cap. xvi. § 1). But there seems to be no positive evidence of such an arrangement. Cummian's words are, 'Sed illi post Evangelii recitationem viderunt quendam' etc.

[2] *criniosum*] Hairy, a word added by Adamnan to Cummian's account, to explain that the globe of fire had a tail like a comet. Reeves cites a parallel from Sulp. Severus's Life of St. Martin, 'Globum ignis de capite eius vidimus emicare, ita ut in sublime contendens longum admodum crinem flamma produceret.'

CAP. XVIII.

DE SPIRITUS SANCTI DESCENSIONE SIVE VISITATIONE QUAE IN EADEM INSULA TRIBUS CONTINUIS DIEBUS ET NOCTIBUS SUPER VENERABILEM MANSIT VIRUM.

Cummian, XIIII. Visions in Hinba.

Alio in *tempore*, cum sanctus vir *in* Hinba commaneret *insula, gratia* sancti spiraminis *super eum abunde et incomparabiliter effusa, per triduum mirabiliter mansit, ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes, intra obseratam et repletam caelesti claritudine domum manens, nullum ad se accedere permitteret, neque manducans neque bibens. De qua* videlicet *domo, immensae claritatis radii, per rimulas valvarum, et clavium foramina, erumpentes,* noctu visebantur. *Carmina* quoque quaedam spiritalia *et ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur.* Sed et *multa quaedam, ut* ipse *post coram* paucis admodum *professus est,* occulta ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata videbat: *Scripturarum* quoque sacrarum *obscura* quaeque et difficillima, plana, et luce clarius aperta, mundissimi cordis oculis patebant. Baitheneumque alumnum[1] non adesse querebatur; qui si forte adesset illo in triduo, vel de praeteritis vel de futuris deinceps saeculis ab ore viri beati quaedam plurima, ab aliis ignorata hominibus, mysteria describeret; aliquantas quoque sacrorum explanationes voluminum. Qui tamen Baitheneus, in Egea insula[2] venti contrarietate detentus, usquequo illi trinales illius incomparabilis et honorificae visitationis dies, et totidem noctes, terminarentur, adesse non potuit.

[1] *alumnum*] See Intr. viii. § 1, and p. 130 n. St. Columba appears to have been *nutritor* or foster-father to Baithene.

[2] *Egea insula*] The island of Eig or Egg, where St. Donnan, an Irishman and disciple of St. Columba, founded a monastery, and was put to death with his congregation of fifty-two by pirates in 617. After him the church of the island and ten others were called Killdonan.

CAP. XIX.

DE ANGELICA LUCIS CLARITUDINE QUAM VIRGNO, BONAE INDOLIS IUVENIS, QUI POSTEA, DEO AUCTORE, HUIC PRAEFUIT ECCLESIAE[1], SUPER SANCTUM COLUMBAM IN ECCLESIA, FRATRIBUS HYEMALI NOCTE IN CUBICULIS QUIESCENTIBUS, DESCENDERE VIDERAT, CUI EGO, INDIGNUS LICET, DESERVIO[2].

Cummian, XV.

The church filled with heavenly light.

Quadam hyemali nocte, supra memoratus Virgnous[3], in Dei amore fervens, *ecclesiam, orationis studio*, aliis quiescentibus, *solus* intrat: ibidemque *in quadam exedra*[4], quae oratorii adhaerebat parieti, *devotus orabat*. Et post aliquantum quasi horae intervallum unius, vir venerandus *Columba* eandem sacram *ingreditur* domum, *simulque cum eo aurea lux, de* summa caeli altitudine *descendens*, totum illud ecclesiae spatium replens. *Sed et illius* exedriolae *separatum conclave, ubi* se Virgnous, in quantum potuit, latitare conabatur, eiusdem caelestis claritas luminis, per interiorem illius cubiculi ianuam, quae ex minori patebat parte, erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. *Et sicut nullus* aesteum *et meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam caelestem* claritudinem ille Virgnous, qui viderat, sustinere nullo poterat modo; quia valde oculorum reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. *Quo fulminali* et formidabili *splendore viso*, in tantum idem supra memoratus frater exterritus erat, ut nulla in eo virtus remaneret. *Sanctus vero Columba, post non prolixam orationem, egreditur ecclesiam.* Virgnoumque valde timoratum *ad se crastina advocat die, hisque* brevibus *compellat consolatoriis* verbis, 'Bene, *O filiole*,' ingeminans, '*hac praeterita nocte in conspectu Dei placuisti, oculos*

[1] *huic ecclesiae*] Sc. that of Iona.

[2] *deservio*] Referring to Adamnan's abbacy, 679–704.

[3] *Virgnous*] Fergna Brit, fourth abbot of Iona. Intr. viii. § 3.

[4] *exedra*] The Erdam or side-house of a Celtic church; see Intr. iv. § 2, and Petrie, *Round Towers*, 1845, 437–444.

ad terram deprimendo, claritatis *timore* perterritus eius ; *nam, si non ita fecisses*, illa inaestimabili *obcaecarentur tui luce visa oculi. Sed* hoc non negligenter observare debebis, ut talem hanc lucis manifestationem nemini unquam in mea denudes vita.' Haec itaque praedicabilis et admirabilis res, post beati viri transitum, multis, eodem Virgnouo narrante, innotuit. Cuius scilicet Virgnoui sororis filius Commanus, honorabilis presbyter, mihi Adamnano de hac supra visione [a] caraxata aliquando, sub testificatione, enarraverat. Qui etiam enarratam ab ore ipsius Virgnoui, abbatis, et avunculi sui, ab eo in quantum potuit visam, audierat.

Injunction to silence.

CAP. XX.

DE ALIA PROPE SIMILI CELSAE CLARITUDINIS VISIONE.

Alio itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, Colgius nomine, filius Aido Draigniche, de Nepotibus Fechreg, cuius in primo fecimus mentionem [1], casu ad ianuam ecclesiae, aliis dormientibus, devenit, ibidemque aliquamdiu stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam caelesti luce repleri : quae scilicet fulguralis lux dicto citius ab eius recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem ignorabat. Postque talem subitam luminis apparitionem, valde pertimescens, domum revertitur. Postera die Sanctus, illum advocans, asperius obiurgavit, inquiens, 'De cetero praecavere debes, fili, ne, quasi explorator, caeleste lumen, quod tibi non est donatum, inspicere coneris, quia te effugiet ; et ne alicui in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres.'

A similar vision and injunction.

CAP. XXI.

DE ALIA PARILI DIVINAE LUCIS APPARITIONE.

Alio itidem in tempore, vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno [2], nomine Berchano, cuius cognomentum

[a] caraxata A. tractata Colg. Boll.

[1] *mentionem*] See i. 17, p. 30.

[2] See iii. 18 n., p. 148, and Joyce, *Hist.* 87. Berchan was probably another pupil under 'literary fosterage.'

Mesloen[1], non mediocriter quadam denunciavit die, inquiens, 'Caveto, fili, ne hac sequenti nocte, iuxta tuam semper consuetudinem, ad meum appropinques hospitiolum.' Qui haec audiens, contra interdictum, ad domum beati viri, in noctis silentio, aliis quiescentibus, accessit, callideque explorans[2], oculos e regione ad clavium foramina posuit, aestimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus caelestem visionem Sancto manifestari. Nam eadem hora beati viri illud hospitiolum caelestis splendore claritudinis erat repletum: quam non sustinens intueri, transgressor iuvenis illico aufugit. Quem die crastina Sanctus seorsum ducens, cum magna severitate obiurgans, haec ad eum profatur verba, dicens, 'Hac in nocte, fili, coram Deo peccasti, nam tuae infitialis[3] explorationem calliditatis a Spiritu Sancto celari vel abscondi posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei ostium hospitioli te illa in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? et nisi ego eodem momento pro te orarem, ibidem ante ianuam, aut cadens morereris, aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur[4]. Sed tibi hac vice propter me Dominus pepercit. Et hoc scito, quod in tua Hibernili patria luxuriose vivens, exprobrationem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus vitae tuae. Hoc tamen a Domino orans impetravi, ut quia noster sis alumnus, lacrymosam ante exitum agas poenitudinem, et a Deo misericordiam consequaris.' Quae omnia, secundum verbum beati viri, ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de eo prophetata sunt.

A similar light in the saint's cell.

[1] *Mesloen*] 'A remarkable form of name, which the editor is unable to illustrate' (Reeves).

[2] *callideque explorans*] Cp. ch. 16, p. 145.

[3] *infitialis*] It does not appear that Berchan had actually denied his inquisitiveness; the word may stand as a strong expression for 'disingenuous.'

[4] *eruerentur*] O'Donnell has a curious story of one who peeped through the keyhole of the church door at St. Columba, and whose eye was picked out through the hole by a tame crane that had followed the saint into the church. (Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 408 *b*, *Acta SS.* 644 *b*.) A similar story is told in the metrical Life of St. Senan. (*Acta SS.* 607 *a*.) See further in Reeves.

CAP. XXII.

DE ALIA ANGELORUM SANCTO MANIFESTATA VIRO APPARITIONE, QUOS SANCTAE EIUS ANIMAE OBVIARE INCIPIENTES, QUASI MOX DE CORPORE VIDERAT MIGRATURAE.

Cummian, XVI.

A vision of angels coming for St. Columba's soul.

Alio in *tempore*[1], dum *vir* beatus *in Ioua* commaneret *insula, quadam die sancta facies eius subita* mirifica et laetifica *hilaritate efloruit, oculosque ad caelum elevans*, incomparabili repletus gaudio, *valde laetificabatur*. Tum, *post modicum* alicuius momentioli *intervallum*, illa sapida[2] et suavis laetificatio in maestam convertitur tristificationem. *Duo* vero viri, qui eadem hora eius tugurioli *ad ianuam*[3] stabant, quod in eminentiore loco[4] erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde tristificati, quorum unus Lugneus erat Mocublai, alter vero Pilu nuncupabatur, Saxo[5], *causam* ipsius *subitae* laetationis *inquirunt, et illius subsequentis maestitiae. Ad quos Sanctus* sic profatur, '*Ite in pace*, nec illius laetaminis causam, nec etiam tristificationis, a me nunc inquiratis manifestari.' Quo audito, illacrymati, ingeniculantes, prostratis in terra vultibus, suppliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re quae hora eadem Sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristificatos videns, '*Quia vos*,' ait, '*amo*, tristificari nolo. Promittere prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum quod inquiritis in vita mea prodatis.' Qui continuo, secundum eius commendationem, prompte promiserunt. Et, post talem promissionem, vir venerandus *sic ad eos proloquitur*, '*Usque in* hunc,' inquiens, '*praesentem diem, meae in Britannia peregrinationis terdeni completi sunt anni.* Interea multis ante diebus a Domino meo devote postulavi, *ut in fine tricesimi huius praesentis anni* me de meo absolveret incolatu, et ad caelestem patriam illico advocaret. *Et haec fuit* mei causa laetaminis,

[1] *Alio in tempore*] In 593, thirty years after his coming to Iona, and four years before his death.

[2] *sapida*] savoury. Cp. 'Book of the Angel' in Stokes, *Trip.* ii. 354, 'anchoritae aeclessiae et caeteri religiosi laudes sapidas offerunt.'

[3] *ad ianuam*] See ch. 15 n., p. 144.

[4] *loco*] Not identified.

[5] *Saxo*] See i. 1 n., p. 12.

de qua vos me maesti interrogatis. *Angelos* enim *sanctos* de excelso *vidi* missos throno ad meam de carne animam *obvios* educendam. *Sed ecce* nunc, *subito retardati*, ultra nostrae fretum insulae *stant* in rupe[1], scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropiare. Sed *propius accedere non* permittuntur, mox ad caelorum summa repedaturi; *quia Dominus quod mihi* totis viribus *roganti donavit*, ut *hac in die* ad ipsum de mundo transirem, *multarum* magis *ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit. Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus sic a Domino donatum est, ut*, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, *quatuor ab hac die mihi in carne* manenti superaddantur *anni.* *Haec* talis *mihi* maesta *retardatio* hodiernae tristificationis non immerito *causa fuit. Quibus videlicet quatuor* futuris, Deo propitio, *terminatis* in hac vita *annis, subita emigratione*, nulla praecedente corporis molestia, cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis, *ad Dominum lactus emigrabo.*' Secundum haec verba, vir venerabilis, quae non sine magno gemitu et maerore, ut traditur, necnon et ingenti lacrimabilitate, prolocutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.

Four years added to his life.

CAP. XXIII.

DE TRANSITU AD DOMINUM SANCTI NOSTRI PATRONI COLUMBAE.

Annorum supra quatuor memoratorum termino iam ap propinquante, post quorum completionem, finem praesentis vitae veridicus praesagator sibi futurum fore multo ante praesciebat tempore, *quadam die, mense Maio*, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro[2], ad visitandos *operarios fratres* senex *senio fessus, plaustro vectus, pergit. Ad quos*, in occidua insulae Iouae laborantes parte[3], sic ea die *exorsus est loqui*,

Cummian, XVII.

St. Columba blesses Iona and its inhabitants.

[1] *rupe*] The rocky coast of the Ross of Mull over against Iona; see the Duke of Argyll's *Iona*, frontispiece, View from the Reilig Odhrain; also cp. i. 25 n., p. 37.

[2] *libro*] Sc. ii. 28, p. 96.

[3] *in occidua parte*] In the Machar or *campulus occidentalis*.

dicens, '*In Paschali solemnitate nuper Aprili peracta*[1] *mense, "desiderio desideravi"*[2] *ad Christum Dominum,* sicut et mihi ab eo concessum erat, si maluissem, *emigrare. Sed ne vobis lactitiae festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem* meae de mundo emigrationis *paulo diutius protelari malui.' His* ab eo maestis monachi familiares *auditis* interim dictis valde tristificati sunt: quos in quantum poterat verbis coepit consolatoriis laetificare. Quibus finitis, *ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem suam convertens faciem, insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus;* ex qua die, ut in supra memorato [a] caraxatum est libello[3], viperarum venena trisulcarum linguarum usque in hodiernum diem, nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere. *Post* eiusdem *benedictionis verba Sanctus ad suum revehitur monasterium.*

Cummian, XVIII.

An angel visits him in the church.

Tum proinde, *paucis diebus transactis, dum missarum solemnia, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die, subito, sursum elevatis oculis, facies* venerabilis viri *florido respersa rubore videtur:* quia, sicut scriptum est, '*Corde laetante vultus floret*[4].' *Eadem* namque *hora angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit intra ipsius oratorii parietes:* et quia sanctorum angelorum amabilis et tranquillus aspectus gaudium et exultationem electorum pectoribus infundit, *haec fuit illius subitae causa laetitiae* beato infusa viro. *De qua* scilicet causa inspiratae laetationis, *cum* qui inerant ibidem *praesentes inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum,* sursum respiciens, *dedit,* '*Mira et incomparabilis angelicae subtilitas naturae. Ecce enim angelus Domini,* ad repetendum aliquod Deo carum missus depositum, *nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens, rursum per parasticiam*[5] *ecclesiae reversus, nulla talis vestigia exitus reliquit.*'

[a] craxatum A. tractatum Colg. Boll.

[1] *Aprili peracta*] Easter-day fell on Apr. 14 in 597.

[2] *desiderio desideravi*] St. Luke xxii. 15. A Hebraism, perhaps exactly representing our Lord's words.

[3] *libello*] Sc. ii. 28, p. 96.

[4] *Corde*, etc.] The Vulgate of Prov. xv. 13 is, 'Cor gaudens exhilarat faciem.'

[5] *parasticiam*] An unexplained word, probably denoting the stone

Haec Sanctus. Sed tamen, de qualitate illius depositi ad quod missus est angelus requirendum, nemo de circumstantibus recognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctum, propriam a Deo sibi commendatam animam, depositum nuncupavit. Quae, sicuti inferius narrabitur, alia, senis intervenientibus continuis diebus, Dominica nocte ad Dominum emigravit.

Cummian, XIX.

He blesses the barn and the corn.

Vir itaque venerabilis *in fine eiusdem hebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati*[1], ipse et eius pius minister Diormitius ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans Sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos[2] acervos, hoc intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquiens, 'Valde congratulor meis familiaribus monachis, quia hoc etiam anno, si quoquam a vobis emigrare me oportuerit, annuum sufficientem habebitis.' Quo audito verbo, Diormitius minister tristificari coepit, et sic dicere, 'Huius anni tempore, pater, saepius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras.' Cui Sanctus hoc dedit responsum, 'Aliquem arcanum habeo [a] sermusculum, quem, si mihi firmiter promiseris, nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero.' Quam cum talem minister promissionem, iuxta voluntatem Sancti, flexis genibus, terminasset, vir venerandus consequenter *sic profatur, 'Haec in sacris voluminibus dies Sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretatur requies. Et mihi vere est sabbatum haec hodierna, quia* huius praesentis laboriosae *vitae* mihi *ultima est, in qua post* meas laborationum *molestias sabbatizo*[3];

[a] sermonusculum D.

roof, called *culmen ecclesiae* in the *Vita Secunda* of Colgan, cap. 30 (*Tr. Th.* 329 *a*).

[1] *sabbati*] See i. 16 n., p. 29.

[2] *sequestratos*] Probably 'reserved'; cp. 'caro et olera sequestrata' in Trebellius Pollio. (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, xxiv. 22, 2).

[3] *sabbatizo*] 1. To keep the Sabbath proper. 2. To rest, as in the capitula of Boniface cited by Ducange, 'diebus Dominicis sabbatizare;' Elmham, *Vit. Hen. V*, 'Nec ab infestatione custodum continua ullo dierum per obsidionis tempora sabbatizat.' St. Columba would use the word with reference to Heb. iv. 9.

et hac sequenti media venerabili *Dominica nocte*[1], secundum eloquia Scripturarum[2], *patrum* [a] *gradiar viam. Iam enim* Dominus meus Iesus *Christus me* invitare dignatur; ad quem, inquam, hac mediante nocte, ipso me invitante, emigrabo. *Sic* enim *mihi ab ipso* Domino *revelatum est.*' Haec maesta minister audiens verba, coepit amare flere. Quem Sanctus in quantum potuit consolari conabatur.

The old white horse makes his farewell to the saint,

Post haec Sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens, media residet via, in quo loco postea crux, molari infixa lapidi[3] hodieque stans, in margine cernitur viae. Dumque ibidem Sanctus, ut praefatus sum, senio fessus, paululum sedens, requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum[4] inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu eius ponens, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo iusserit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, coepit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, coepit illum flebilem[5] repellere lamentatorem: sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens, 'Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi: huic vero bruto et irrationali animanti, quoque modo ipse Conditor voluit,

[a] ingrediar C.

[1] *nocte*] The night preceding Sunday, on which the Sunday services begin.

[2] *Scripturarum*] The reference is to Josh. xxiii. 14 and 1 Kings (3 Reg.) ii. 2, 'Ego ingredior viam universae terrae' (Vulg.).

[3] *molari lapidi*] A disused millstone would make a good base and socket for a wayside cross. See note on i. 45, p. 58.

[4] *bocetum*] For *bucetum*, cow-house, or perhaps cow-pasture. Colgan's *Vita Secunda* here has *bostarium*. See Glossary.

[5] *flebilem*] Weeping; cp. 'lamentable' in Dan. vi. 20, A. V.

egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit.' Et haec dicens maestum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem.

Et *inde egrediens, et* monticellum *monasterio supereminentem*[1] *ascendens, in vertice eius paululum stetit,* et stans, ambas elevans palmas, *suum benedixit coenobium,* inquiens, 'Huic loco, quamlibet angusto et vili, non tantum Scotorum reges, cum populis, sed etiam barbararum et exterarum gentium regnatores, cum plebibus sibi subiectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem[2]: a Sanctis quoque etiam aliarum ecclesiarum non mediocris veneratio conferetur.' who blesses the monastery,

Post haec verba, *de illo descendens* monticellulo, *et ad monasterium* revertens, *sedebat in* tugurio *Psalterium scribens*; et *ad illum tricesimi tertii psalmi versiculum perveniens ubi scribitur,* '*Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient*[3] *omni bono,*' '*Hic,*' *ait,* 'in fine *cessandum* est paginae; *quae* vero *sequuntur* Baitheneus scribat.' *Sancto convenienter* congruit decessori *novissimus versiculus quem scripserat, cui nunquam bona deficient aeterna: successori vero* sequens *patri, spiritalium* doctori *filiorum,* '*Venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos,*'[4] congruenter *convenit*; qui, *sicut decessor commendavit, non solum* ei docendo, sed etiam *scribendo, successit.* Cummian, XX. transcribes the Psalter,

Post talem superius memoratum *terminatae versum perscriptum paginae,* Sanctus ad vespertinalem *Dominicae noctis*

[1] *supereminentem*] See p. 40 n. Dr. Reeves thought that the Reilig Orain was on the site of the original monastery, which however was possibly about 300 yards north of the mediaeval ruins, and if so the *mons* or *monticellus* mentioned here and in i. 30 may well have been Cnoc na bristeadh clach, an isolated rocky knoll just outside the remains of the vallum. Torr Abb, which is due west of the cathedral church, hardly seems to command the more ancient site so well. See Intr. vii. § 2.

[2] *honorem*] Iona was a favourite burial-place of kings and chieftains for many centuries.

[3] *deficient*] The text is as in the Vulgate of Ps. xxxiii. 11 (or xxxiv. 10), except that the Vulg. reads *minuentur.*

[4] Ps. xxxiii. 12, Vulg. or xxxiv. 11.

[a] *missam*[1] *ingreditur ecclesiam : qua continuo consummata, ad* hospitiolum *revertens, in* lectulo residet *pernox; ubi pro stramine nudam habebat* petram, et *pro pulvillo lapidem*[2], *qui hodie*que *quasi quidam iuxta sepulcrum eius titulus*[3] stat *monumenti.* Ibidem *itaque residens,* ultima ad fratres mandata, solo audiente ministro, commendat, inquiens, 'Haec vobis, O filioli, *novissima* commendo *verba,* ut *inter vos mutuam et non fictam* habeatis *charitatem, cum pace* : et si ita, iuxta sanctorum exempla patrum, observaveritis, Deus, *confortator bonorum, vobis auxiliabitur, et ego, cum ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo*[4] ; et non tantum praesentis vitae necessaria ab eo sufficienter administrabuntur, sed etiam aeternalium bonorum praemia, divinorum observatoribus praeparata, tribuentur.' Hucusque extrema venerabilis patroni verba, quasi de hac taediali peregrinatione ad caelestem patriam transmeantis, brevi textu narrata deducta sunt.

Cummian, XXI. — and goes to the church for vespers, and exhorts the brethren.

Post quae, felici appropinquante novissima *paulisper* hora, *Sanctus conticuit. Tum proinde media nocte*[5] *pul-*

[a] officium B.

[1] *vespertinalem missam*] The first Vespers of the Sunday, said on Saturday evening, called *missa* in ii. 5, p. 76. So Ducange, '*Missa*, pro quovis Ecclesiastico officio quod in aedibus sacris peragebatur, interdum sumitur.' The original meaning was the same as *missio* or *dimissio*, which seems to have been extended to any service at the end of which the congregation was dismissed, though the connection is not quite clear, and finally to the Eucharist alone. The reading of Cod. B. is in accordance with the later limitation of the term *missa*.

[2] *lapidem*] St. Kieran of Saiger and St. Kiaran of Clonmacnoise both, like Jacob, used stones for their pillows. (Colg. *Acta SS.* 471 *a*; *Cod. Marshii*, 147 *bb*).

[3] *titulus*] Usually an inscription or epitaph, but often in the Vulgate, etc., a pillar simply, as in Gen. xxxviii. 18, 22. See Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 326. The meaning is that the stone pillow stood by the grave telling its own tale. A stone marked with a cross, and exactly of a form suitable for a pillow, is still shown at Iona as that of St. Columba.

[4] *interpellabo*] See ii. 45 n., p. 124.

[5] *media nocte*] He had previously attended the *vespertinalis missa*, rested on his bed, and spoken farewell words to Diormit. He now rose for Matins and perhaps Lauds, referred to below in the expression *hymnis matutinalibus finitis.*

sata personante clocca[1], *festinus surgens, ad ecclesiam pergit, citiorque ceteris currens, solus introgressus iuxta altare flexis in oratione genibus* recumbit; *Diormitius minister, tardius prosecutus, eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce* erga Sanctum repleri *videt: quo ad ianuam appropinquante, eadem lux* visa *ocius recessit*: quam etiam alii de fratribus pauci, et ipsi eminus astantes, viderant. *Diormitius* ergo, *ecclesiam* ingrediens, *flebili ingeminat voce, 'Ubi es, Pater?' Et, necdum allatis fratrum lucernis, per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante* altarium *recubantem invenit: quem paululum erigens, et iuxta sedens, sanctum in suo gremio posuit caput.* Et inter haec coetus monachorum cum luminaribus accurrens, patre viso moriente, coepit plangere. Et, ut ab aliquibus qui praesentes inerant didicimus[2], *Sanctus, necdum egrediente anima,* apertis *sursum oculis, ad utrumque latus* cum mira vultus hilaritate et laetitia *circumspiciebat; sanctos* scilicet obvios intuens *angelos. Diormitius* tum sanctam sublevat ad benedicendum Sancti monachorum chorum dexteram manum[3]. *Sed et ipse* venerabilis *pater, in quantum poterat, simul* suam movebat *manum,* ut videlicet quod voce in egressu non valebat animae, etiam motu manus fratres videretur benedicere. *Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit.* Quo tabernaculum corporis egresso, *facies rubens, et mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarata,* in tantum *remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed*

Cummian, XXII.

He goes to the church again,

gives his last blessing,

and dies.

[1] *clocca*] See i. 8 n., p. 24. Cummian here has *campana.*

[2] *didicimus*] Adamnan was born twenty-seven years after the death of Columba, and came to Iona before he was twenty-eight (Intr. viii. § 9), so that he might very well have known many who knew St. Columba.

[3] *dexteram manum*] According to the appropriate and universal custom. Bishops are commonly represented holding the crosier in the left hand while blessing with the right. Reeves mentions a curious Irish legend that when St. Ulltan cursed the Danes he extended his left hand, but that if he had used his right, instead of the destruction of 150 ships, no foreigner would ever have settled in Ireland.

dormientis videretur viventis. Tota interim personabat maestis plangoribus ecclesia.

His death is revealed to a holy man in Ireland.

Sed non praetereundum videtur quod eadem hora beatae transitus animae, cuidam Hiberniensi Sancto revelatum est. In illo namque monasterio quod Scotica nominatur lingua Cloni-finchoil [1], quidam homo erat sanctus, senex Christi miles, qui Lugudius vocitabatur, filius Tailchani, iustus et sapiens. Hic itaque primo mane cuidam aeque Christiano militi, Fergnouo nomine, suam enarravit visionem, cum ingenti gemitu, dicens, 'Hac praeterita nocte media sanctus Columba, multarum columna ecclesiarum, ad Dominum transiit, et in hora beati exitus eius Iouam insulam, ad quam corpore nunquam perveni, totam angelorum claritudine in spiritu vidi irradiatam, totaque spatia aeris usque ad aethera caelorum, eorundem angelorum claritate illustrata; qui ad sanctam ipsius animam perferendam, de caelis missi, descenderunt innumeri. Altisona quoque carminalia, et valde suavia audivi angelicorum coetuum cantica [2] eodem momento egressionis inter angelicos sanctae ipsius animae ascendentes choros.' Hanc angelicam manifestationem Virgnous [3], ut praedictum est, qui ab ore sancti illius senis cui revelata erat, indubitanter didicerat, iisdem diebus de Scotia remigans [4], Hinba in insula reliquis diebus vitae suae permanens, sancti Columbae monachis saepius enarrabat. Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subiectione inter fratres irreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios

[1] *Cloni-finchoil*] *Cluain finnchoill*, 'meadow of the white hazel.' Perhaps Rosnarea, on the Boyne.

[2] *cantica*] So in the Ripon Offices of St. Wilfrid, we read, 'eadem hora non sine magno stupore astantium quidam mirae dulcedinis avium concentus auditus est in nube; fuitque sapientum opinio quod esset congratulatio angelorum.' This singing was at his death; the voices were heard again at his burial. *Offices*, Ripon, 1893, p. 27. Eddii, *Vita Wilfr.* 62, 63.

[3] *Virgnous*] called *Fergnous* above.

[4] *remigans*] When we bear in mind the extensive use of oars in marine navigation, as above, ii. 42, 45, pp. 117, 122, there seems to be no occasion, either here or a little below, for Reeves's suggestion of *remigrans*. (*Glossary*, ed. 1857, s. v.)

duodecim[1] in loco anachoretarum in Muirbulcmar[2], vitam ducens anachoreticam, Christi victor miles, explevit. Hanc praedictam visionem, non solum paginis inscriptam reperimus, sed et ab aliquibus expertis senioribus, quibus ipse Virgnous retulerat, sine ullo didicimus cunctamine.

A heavenly light seen in Donegal.

Eadem quoque hora aliam visionem, aliter revelatam, unus ex eis qui viderant, Christi miles, valde senex, cuius nomen etiam potest dici Ferreolus, Scotice vero Ernene[3], gente Mocufirroide[4], qui inter aliorum sancti Columbae monachorum reliquias, et ipse sanctus monachus. in [a]Dorso[a] Tomme[5] sepultus, cum sanctis resurrectionem expectat[6], mihi Adamnano, illo iuveni[7] in tempore, cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens, 'Illa in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terra ad caelos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri laborantes in captura piscium in valle piscosi fluminis Fendae[8], subito totum aerei illustratum caeli spatium vidimus. Cuius miraculi subitatione permoti, oculos ad orientem elevatos convertimus, et ecce, quasi quaedam pergrandis ignea apparuit columna, quae in illa nocte media sursum ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum illustrare totum, sicuti aesteus et meridianus sol, et postquam illa penetravit columna caelum, quasi post occasum solis, tenebrae succedunt. Huius itaque claritudinem luminosae et praedicabilis columnae, non tantum nos, qui simul in eodem loco ineramus, cum

[a–a] dorso tomae B. dorso thomae C. druim thuama D.

[1] *duodecim*] See note on i. 22, p. 35.

[2] *Muirbulcmar*] 'Sea-inlet of the sea.' Possibly in Hinba or Elena insula (Eilean-na-Naoimh) where there are beehive cells that may have been tenanted by Virgnous. See Elena insula, ii. 18 n., p. 86.

[3] *Ernene*] In Latin *Ferreolus*. Ernan or Ernin is a diminutive of the old word *iarn*, 'iron,' now written *iarann* (with furtive vowel). Cod. D. gives the name in the modern form *Iarannan*.

[4] *Mocufirroide*] Mocu or Mac-ua-Fir-Roidhe. For Roidhe cp. *Korkureti*, i. 47 n., p. 59, and for Mocu see Glossary.

[5] *Dorsum Tomme*] Druim thuama, now Drumhome, co. Donegal. See Joyce, i. 14.

[6] *expectat*] So the Irish saints used to speak of the place where they would be buried, as the place of their resurrection.

[7] *iuveni*] See p. 159 n.

[8] *Fendae*] The Finn, co. Donegal, a tributary of the Foyle.

ingenti admiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores, qui sparsim per diversas fluminales piscinas[1] eiusdem fluminis piscabantur, sicut nobis post retulerant, simili apparitione visa, magno pavore sunt perculsi.' Harum igitur trium miracula visionum eadem transitus hora venerandi apparentium patroni, aeternos ei a Domino collatos protestantur honores. Ad propositum revertamur.

Cummian, XXIII.

The body prepared for burial.

Interea post sanctae egressum animae, hymnis matutinalibus[2] *terminatis, sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium,* unde paulo ante vivens venerat, *cum canora fratrum reportatur psalmodia,* honesteque *ternis*[3] *diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite explentur exequiae. Quibus in Dei* sapidis *laudibus terminatis,* sancti et beati patroni venerabile *corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus,* et praeparata positum in [a] ratabusta[4], *debita humatur cum veneratione,* in luminosa et *aeternali resurrecturum claritudine.*

Cummian, XXIV.

A prophecy fulfilled.

De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis ab expertis traditum est, huius prope finem enarrabitur libri. Quidam namque *aliquando unus* de fratribus coram venerabili viro simpliciter loquens, '*Ad* celebrandas,' ait *ad Sanctum,* '*tuas, post tuum obitum exequias, totus* harum *provinciarum populus* hanc Iouam remigans replebit insulam.' Quod verbum audiens *Sanctus* consequenter ait, 'O mi filiole, *non ut loqueris* sic *res probabit, nam promiscuum* populi *vulgus* nullo modo ad meas poterit exequias venire ;

[a] A. B. rata busta F. intra busta C. in rata tabeta D. catabusta *suo iure* Boll.

[1] *fluminales piscinas*] Fish-pools ; a pool in a river is called *piscina Berachi* in *Acta SS.* Aug. tom. iii. 660 b.

[2] *hymnis matutinalibus*] Matins, and perhaps Lauds.

[3] *ternis*, etc.] See above, ii. 39 n., p. 111. But St. Patrick's obsequies are said to have lasted for twelve days, St. Senan's for eight. Seven was the pagan number. (Stokes, *Tripartite,* p. 255 ; Colgan, *Acta SS.* 537 a, 730 a).

[4] *ratabusta*] This unique and unexplained term must denote a coffin or a tomb. Reeves suggests that *rata* may have crept into the text from praepa*rata*, or be the fem. of ratus, *fixed* (mentally), agreeing with busta, *a box*, or perhaps a form of bustum, *a grave*. Surius reads *intra busta* and the Bollandists *in catabusta*, but Colgan, *in ratâ bustâ*.

mei soli *familiares monachi* mea *sepulcralia complebunt, et exequialia honestabunt* officia. Quod verbum eius propheticum, statim post transitum ipsius, omnipotentia Dei adimpleri fecit: *nam per tres illas exequiales dies et noctes, grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas, qua* fortiter *prohibente*[1], *nullus* hinc inde *navicella* vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata, et cessante vento, totum tranquillatum est aequor.

Cummian, XXV. Epilogue. St. Columba's miracles.

Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis[2] *apud Deum* praedicabilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conversanti Deo dignante, oranti, tempestates sedatae sunt, et maria tranquillata; et rursus, quando necesse habuit, supra memorata occasione, orta flamina ventorum, et ventosa, cum voluit, concita sunt aequora, quae subsequenter, ut superius dictum est, expletis eius sepulturae ministeriis, in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

Reflections on his death,

Hic itaque nostro praedicabili patrono vitae terminus fuit, ista meritorum exordia; qui, secundum sententias Scripturarum, aeternis comes triumphis, Patribus additus, Apostolis et Prophetis consertus, numero aggregatus albatorum millium Agnino in sanguine suas Sanctorum qui laverunt stolas[3], Agnum ductorem comitatur, virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer

[1] *prohibente*] In Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, ch. 36, is a story of a storm that arose to punish certain brethren by detaining them when they hesitated to accept his hospitality in Farne. After a while the storm-stayed and doubtless hungry visitors overcame their shyness, and began to boil the goose which St. Cuthbert had offered to them. Then it came to pass that, as the pot boiled up, so did the sea cease from its boiling.

[2] *quanti et qualis*] This expression, here taken from Cummian, is used by Adamnan in the *De Locis Sanctis*, 'quanti et qualis honoris haec electa et praedicabilis civitas,' i. e. Jerusalem.

[3] *stolas*] The word used in the Vulgate of Rev. vii. 14, etc. *Stola* (στολή) originally meant any long outer garment, especially that worn by the Roman matrons, and it is sometimes so used in ecclesiastical Latin, as in the Ambrosian hymn, 'Ad coenam Agni providi, Et stolis albis candidi,' referring to the baptismal robes at Easter. It is used of the chasuble, or, like our word 'vestment,' of a set of vestments. (*Dict. Christian Ant.* s. v.) It is not

labe, ipso Domino nostro Iesu Christo dignante: cui est cum Patre honor, virtus, laus, gloria, et imperium sempiternum in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia saecula saeculorum[1].

and on his fame.

Post horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti sanctus saepe supra memoratus praesul venerandus, quantae et qualis apud Deum honorificentiae fuerit aestimatus, quantae et quales angelicae ad ipsum, et luminosae frequentationes, fuerint; quanta in eo prophetalis gratia, quanta dialium efficientia virtutum; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit; quae, etiam post egressum animae de tabernaculo corporis almissimae, sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur compertum, locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant ossa[2] usque hodie eadem caelestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum. Et haec etiam eidem beatae memoriae viro a Deo non mediocris est collata gratia, qua nomen eius non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam[3], et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit, in hac parva et extrema oceani Britannici commoratus[4] insula; sed etiam ad trigonam[5] usque Hispaniam,

clear how the term came to be applied to the long band now known as a 'stole.' The most probable explanation is that this band was at first the ornamental border of the original *stola*, which has remained as a survival.

[1] See ii. 32 n., p. 100.

[2] *pausant ossa*] This expression alone would show that the author wrote earlier than the ninth century, before which time St. Columba's remains were enshrined. Bede uses words to the same effect in *H. E.* iii. 4. On St. Columba's shrine and its migrations, see Reeves, 1857, 312-318. For the use of *pausare* and its derivatives (cp. Greek *ἀναπαύσασθαι*) see note 140, in Warren, p. 264. 'In the old Irish Annals, the death of an ecclesiastic is generally expressed by *dormivit*, *quievit*, *pausavit*, or *obiit*; that of a layman by *mortuus*, *iugulatus*, or *occisus est*, as the case might be. *De Loc. Sanct.* ii. 10.' (Reeves, 1857, in Glossary.)

[3] *nostram Scotiam*] Adamnan's own country, Ireland.

[4] *commoratus*] A nominative absolute, 'though he lived.'

[5] *trigonam*] This term is more obviously applicable to Trinacria (Sicily), but it is applied to Spain by Aethicus in his cosmography, printed with Pomponius Mela, etc.,

et Gallias, et ultra Alpes Peninas[1] Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quae caput est omnium civitatum. Tantus et talis honor noscibilis[2] eidem Sancto inter ceterae divinae donationis munera condonatus scitur a Deo, qui se diligentes amat, et eos qui eum sapidis magnificant laudibus magis ac magis glorificans, immensis sublimat honoribus, qui est benedictus in saecula. Amen.

Obsecro[3] eos quicunque voluerint hos describere libellos, immo potius adiuro per Christum, iudicem saeculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendent[4] cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde[a] caraxerunt, et hanc quoque adiurationem hoc in loco subscribant.

Quicunque[5] *hos virtutum libellos Columbae legerit, pro me Dorbbeneo*[6]

Dominum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem aeternam possideam.

[a] craxerunt A. traxerunt Colg. Boll.

Leyden, 1722, p. 729. For evidence of a colony from Britain in Spain Gallicia), see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii. pt. i, 99 ff., The knowledge of St. Columba might reach Spain through this colony.

[1] *Alpes Peninas*] The Pennine Alps, between the Valais and Upper Italy.

[2] *noscibilis*] The non-Irish writers who have mentioned St. Columba are Bede, Alcuin, Walafridus Strabo, and Notker Balbulus, all later than Adamnan. Bede did not know either Cummian's or Adamnan's Life. See *H. E.* iii. 4, '*feruntur* scripta haberi.'

[3] *obsecro*] There is a similar adjuration preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 20) from a work by Irenaeus now lost, as also, in a Latin translation, by St. Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* § 35). This is the oldest colophon of the kind by a Christian writer, and is as follows:—'Ορκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραψόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἧς ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλῃς ὃ μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσῃς αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο, ὅθεν μετεγράψω ἐπιμελῶς· καὶ τὸν ὅρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψεις, καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. Cp. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

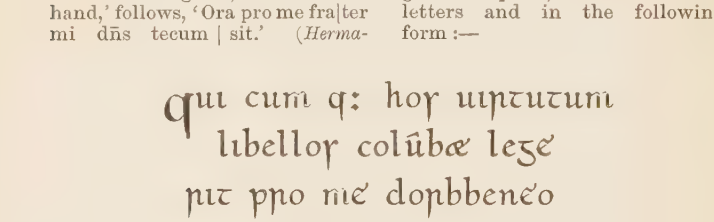
[4] *emendent*] See note on i. 23, p. 36.

[5] *quicunque*, etc.] There are colophons more or less similar in other famous Irish MSS., as for example in Mac Regol's Gospels, 'Macregol dipin|exit hoc euange|lium: Quicum|que legerit | Et intellegerit | istam narratio|nem orat (*sic*) pro | macreguil scripto|ri,' in a coloured border of Irish patterns (*Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels*, Surtees Soc., part iv, frontispiece). In the Book of Armagh, the scribe, who died in 845, appends at the ends

[6] See note 1 on p. 166.

of various portions 'pro ferdomnacho ores.' The colophon of the Book of Durrow is, 'Rogo beatitudinem | tuam sc̄e praesbiter | patrici ut quicumque | hunc libellum manu te|nuerit memineṙit colum|bae scriptoris. qui hoc scripsi | himet euangelium per xii | dierum spatium gtia dn̄i n̄ri s.s.' The only doubtful letters are 'hi' before 'met'; the colophon appears to be a copy, 'mi' being omitted by a scribe's error. There is no contraction mark over 'gtia,' nor is it known what the letters s.s. stand for. Below, 'in a more angular, but not later hand,' follows, 'Ora pro me fra|ter mi dn̄s tecum | sit.' (*Hermathena*, 1892, No. xviii, p. 199; *Book of Trinity College Dublin*, 159; Reeves, 1857, 242). Adamnan *De Locis Sanctis* has a long colophon, which Reeves gives from Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.* saec. iii. pt. ii, p. 472. Venet. 1734.

[1] *Dorbbeneo*] Dorbhene, the scribe who wrote Codex A., is probably identical with a Dorbhene who was abbot of Iona for five months in 713. See account of the MS. in the Preface. I am indebted to the Librarian of the Stadtbibliothek at Schaffhausen for a tracing of the original colophon, which is in red letters and in the following form :—



GLOSSARY

A.

Abdicare, to reject, 114.

Absolvere, to release, from slavery, 101, 109; from difficult childbirth, 114.

Accola, a resident, 44, 46, 95.

Aesteus, for *aestivus*, 73, &c.

Agellulus, a double diminutive of *ager*, 4, &c.

Agonotheta, *ἀγωνοθέτης*, used of Christ, 136 *n.* Cf. Tertull. *ad Mart.* 3, 'Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes Deus vivus est.' But *agonotheta* is more common.

Albatus, clothed in white robes, 142 *n*, 146, 163.

Alnus, a boat, 95 *n.*

Alumnus, a foster-son, 15, 148 *n.*, 150, 151.

Ambis, for *ambabus*, 90 *n.*

Amhra, a song of grief, elegy, song simply, xxi. From Ir. *amor*, grief.

Amphibalus (or -um), a cloak or cowl, 19 *n.*, 77. Rönsch, 254.

Anmchara, confessor, from the Irish *anim* and *cara*; literally soul-friend, xlvi, lxxi, lxxiii.

Annuum, for *annona*, 155.

Anrot. See xxi *n.* No derivation really known.

Anteriores, easterns, 55 *n.*, 137.

Appetibilis, desirable, 16. Cf. Ambr. *Hexaem.* v. 21, 'vade ad apem . . . appetibilis est enim omnibus et cara.'

Appropiare, to draw near, 153. Cf. Ex. iii. 5, Vulg.; Bede, *H. E.* iv. 3.

Ascella, for *axilla*, 36 *n.*, 78 *n.* Not uncommon. See Rönsch, 96.

Axion, *ἄξων*, an axle, 119. See Humerulus.

B.

Barca, a ship, 39 *n.*

Bard. See xx *n.*

Bee-hive cells. See p. xxxviii.

Benedictio: (1) blessing, 110 *bis*; (2) the vehicle of blessing, 76 *n.*; 77, 101 *n.*

Bibera, a drinking-cup, 101 *n.*

Bocetum, a booly (Irish *buaile*, from Lat. bovile), cow-pasture, or cow-byre, 156 *n.*

Bocula, for bucula, 88, 89 *n.*

Bostarium, equivalent to bocetum, 156 *n.*

Brehon. See xxii *n.*

Busta. See Ratabusta.

C.

Canaba, a kiln or kiln-house, 58 *n.* The building with a round pit at Eilean na Naoimh (Skene's Reeves, 1874, p. 321, Anderson, *Scotland*, p. 99) has probably been a *canaba*. Carleton in *Traits, &c.* 1860, ii. 204, gives the following account of an 'Inside Kiln' in modern times: 'This kind of kiln is usually—but less so now than formerly—annexed to respectable farmers' out-houses, to which, in agricultural districts, it forms a necessary appendage. It also serves at the time as a barn, the kiln-pot being sunk in the shape of an inverted cone at one end, but divided from the barn-floor by a wall about three feet high. From this wall beams run across the kiln-pot, over which, in a

transverse direction, are laid a number of rafters like the joists of a loft, but not fastened. These ribs are covered with straw, over which again is spread a winnow cloth to keep the grain from being lost. The fire is sunk on a level with the bottom of the kiln-pot, that is, about eight or ten feet below the floor of the barn. The descent to it is by stairs formed at the side wall.' Such arrangements for artificial drying would be made necessary by the humid climate of Ireland and of the Hebrides.

Capsellula, a double diminutive, 76.

Caraxare, to write, 2 *n*, and *passim*. It is used by Apicius, who also has *incharaxare*, as well as by post-classical writers. Rönsch, 44, 255.

Carminale, a song, 160.

Carnalis, after the flesh, earthly, 38 *n*, 109; carnaliter, 47 *n*.

Cashel, an encircling stone-wall. Ir. *caisel*, *caiseal*, xxxviii.

Cathach, battle-book, xliv, lxii. Properly an adj. meaning 'war-like,' from *cath*, battle.

Caupallus, a boat, 95 *n*.

Cellula, 33 *n*.

Clocca, a bell, 24 *n*, 159 *n*.

Co-arb, Ir. *comharbha*, pron. *cow-orba*, said to be derived from *comh* (cum), with, and *forba*, inheritance (Colg. *Tr. Th.*, 630, col. 2), xvii.

Cognationalis, related by kinship, 62 *n*, 109, 114.

Collum, the neck of a bottle or flask, 31 *n*.

Condensatus, united (in case of broken bone), 76 *n*.

Condictum, an appointment, interview, convention, 61, 63, 77, 121, 123, 146. Not an uncommon word in ecclesiastical Latin; it occurs in the hymn *Altus Prosator*, attributed to St. Columba, thus, 'Quis ad condictum Domini Montem conscendit Sinai.'

Conficere, to consecrate, 52 *n*., 57; an established liturgical expression. See Reeves, 1857, 85 *n*., 442.

Contulus, dim. of contus; a punt-pole? 96 *n*; a stake, 105.

Corniculum, an inkhorn, 37 *n*.

Craticula, a gridiron, 34 *n*.

Criniosus, hairy, like a comet, 147 *n*.

Cristilia. The sole recorded instance of the word. The context shows that it must mean either bark, from *crusta*, or a projecting knot or something of the kind, from *crista*, 60 *n*.

Cumtach, earlier *cumdach*, (1) building, (2) covering, (3) ornament, probably from *con* + *teg*, root of *tego*, *toga*, &c.; a book-shrine, lxii.

Curuca, a coracle, 117 *n*., 122 *n*.

D.

Damhliag, stone church or house, from *dam* or *dom* = *domus*, and *liac* or *liag*, gen. of *lia*, a stone, lxix.

Depositio, burial, xlvii.

Deprecatio, 142 *n*.

Dialis, divine, sacred, 14 *n*., and frequently.

Diminutiva. Reeves gives a list of eighty-three diminutives occurring in the present work. Ed. 1857, p. 442. Some are double, as *Agellulus*, *Monticellulus*, &c. See lxxxvi.

Dioecesis, the district subject to the jurisdiction of the head of a federation of monasteries, such as Iona was, 45 *n*.

Discursio, journeying, 118.

Disert, a hermit's cell (*desertum*), lxxv *n*.

Dolare, to carve ivory, 109; to hollow out trees for dug-out boats, 121 *n*.

Domhnach Airgid, lit. 'church of silver' = *dominica argenti*, a name of a shrine; hence the enshrined Gospels 'of St. Patrick', so called (see p. xcv), xliv.

Dorsum, a mountain ridge, Irish *Druim*, in proper names. See Index s. v.

Druid. See xix *n.* It is in an Irish MS. gloss on 2 Tim. iii. 8 that Jannes and Jambres are called *druith.*

Duirthech, oratory, lxix; 'i.e. *dair-thech,* i.e. a house of oak; or *deir-thech,* i.e. a house in which tears are shed; or *duair-thech,* i.e. a house in which words are poured out' (Transl. from MS. H. 2, 16 in Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin, in Petrie, *Round Towers,* 345). The meaning and etymology are still regarded as doubtful. Petrie prefers the first of the above. In usage it stands for *oratory* as distinct from *church of stone,* as in Annals of Ulster, A.D. 839, 'The burning of Armagh, with its *derthechs* and *daimhliag.*' See **Damhliag,** and Petrie, *R. T.* 120, 343–358.

Dun, an earthen rampart; 'two walls with water between them' (O'Curry, *Manners,* &c. iii. 572); Ir. *dun,* Norse *tun,* xxxviii.

E.

Elementum, 71 *n.*

Emax, fond of buying, 139 *n.*

Erdamh. See **Exedra.**

Eremus (in oceano *vel* in mari), a desert island, 22 *n,* 33 *bis,* 115.

Esox, a salmon, 87 *n,* 88, 106.

Eulogia, a gift (charm), 77 *n*; the holy-bread, 82 *n.*

Excussorium, a threshing-floor, 89.

Exedra, exedriola, ἐξέδρα, the *erdamh* or side-house of a Celtic church, 149 *n.* The Greek word is frequently used by Josephus in reference to the temple. Adamnan uses the Latin form in *De Loc. SS.* i. 2, 8.

Exenium. See **Xenium.**

Exequiae, burial rites, 53 *n,* 99, 162,; exequialia officia, 163; exequiales dies, *ib.*

Exintero, for *exentero,* to eviscerate, 92.

Explicit, expliciunt, 69 *n.*

F.

Famen, literally a saying, hence a matter, event, 132 *n,* 144.

Feria, 29 *n,* 37 *n.*

Ferrum, a bronze knife-blade, 97 *n.*

Festivanox, eve of a festival, 123 *n.*

Filius, the Gaelic Mac in proper names, frequently.

Flebilis, sorrowful, 156 *n,* 159.

Floridus, beautiful, 89 *n,* 130, 154.

Fluminales piscinae, fish-pools, 162 *n.*

Fossula, the part of a threshing-floor in which the grain collects, 89.

Fretum, the Sound of Iona, frequently.

Fulminalis, like lightning, 149.

Furunculus, a poacher, 8 *n.*

G.

Genitalia, parentage, 5.

Gens, a clan, Irish *cenel,* 28, 33.

Gentilis, a heathen, 43 *n,* and frequently; **gentilicus,** heathen, 103, 143; **gentilitas,** heathenism, 12 *n.*

Gergenna, a wooden bar, 85 *n.*

Graecismi. The following words occur in the present work: Agonotheta, Axion, Caraxo, Eremus, Guberneta, Homonymus, Lithus, Onoma, Pira, Proselytus, Protus, Sophia, Trigonus. See p. 1 *n.*

Guberneta, κυβερνήτης, a pilot. 114.

H.

Hauritorium, a flask or bottle, or any vessel into which liquids could be drawn, 30 *n.* Cp. Cummian, cap. iv.

Hi, (1) Irish prep. for *in,* 132 *n.*; (2) a form of the name of Iona. In both cases the *h* is purely accentual, and Hi = h-I.

Hininglas, the green water, i.e. the sea, 82 *n.*

Hospitium, guest-house, 108 *n.*

Humerulus, shoulder of axle, 119 *n.* Cf. 3 Reg. vii. 30, Vulg.

Hymni matutinales, Matins (and Lauds?), 162 *n.*

I.

Inclinare, to upset, 37.
Indicibilis, indescribable, 118, 144.
Infitialis, disingenuous, 151.
Ingeniculatio, kneeling, 99 (*De Loc. SS.* iii. 4).
Iniuriosus, ill-behaved, 19.
Innocentes, women and children, 93 *n.*
Insuadibilis, obstinate, 90.
Intransmeabilis, impassable, 116.
Irreverberatus, undazzled, 149.
Iudicialis, condign, 34.

L.

Labefactatio, slipping or loosening, 119.
Lacrimabilitas, tearfulness, 153.
Lapidum acervus, a cairn, 44 *n.* It should have been mentioned in the note that cairns are still raised in Scotland as well as in Ireland. By the side of the road leading from Glen More to Craignure in Mull is a cairn marking the grave of a well-known character, 'Jones the Pedlar,' who was found dead in that lonely place in 1891, and buried there. A smaller cairn marks the exact spot where he had died.
Laudes vespertinales, vespers, 50 *n.*
Leges poenitentiae, the penitential canons, 35 *n*, 108.
Librarium folium, a leaf of a book, 78 *n.*
Lignum, a boat, 47.
Lis, a homestead surrounded by an earthen rampart. Ir. *liss* or *less*, Welsh *llys*, xxxviii.
Livorosus, 'black and blue,' 134.

M.

Maceria, a cashel, 51 *n.*
Magi, Druids, 10 *n*, 50, 81, 99, 100, 102.
Magna domus, a round tower? 144 *n.*
Marini vituli, 52 *n.*
Martyres. See **Reliquiae.**
Matrix ecclesia, Iona, 21.
Mediterranea pars, the middle of Ireland, 18 *n*, 139 *n.*
Milito, a soldier (fig.), 137.
Minare, to drive, 33 *n.* Very common in the Vulgate. See Rönsch, 236.
Missa nocturna, vespers, 76 *n*, 131; **vespertinalis**, *id.* 158 *n*; **missarum solemnia**, the mass, 52, 124 *bis*, 141 *n*, 147, 154.
Mocu or **Maccu**, perhaps Mac + ua, or it may be a distinct word of similar meaning. See **Nepos.**
Modulabiliter, 54 *n.*
Molaris lapis, a millstone, 156 *n.* Possibly a mere block of stone, like *μύλαξ* in Homer (*Il.* xii. 161) or *molares* in Vergil (*Aen.* viii. 250).
Monasteriolum, a little or subordinate monastery? 4 *n*, 51, 115, 137.
Monticellulus (double dim.), 157 *n.* Called also *mons*, 40; and *monticellus*, 157.
Mos Romanorum, stone building, 122 *n.*
Mos Scottorum, wood building, 122 *n.*
Munitio, a fortress, the Irish *dun*, or circular rampart, xxxviii, 50 *n*, 61, 62 *n*, 73, 101, 103.
Mysterium, a hidden doctrine or exposition, 148; **sacrificale**, the mass, 70; **mysteria eucharistiae**, *id.* 52, 141, 147; **oblationis sacrae**, *id.* 52.

N.

Natalis dies, a festival of a saint, xlvii, 124 *n*, 141.
Naturale bonum, natural good, not in the sense of material, but of moral good, of which the knowledge has been acquired by the use of the natural reason, in contradistinction to that of which the knowledge has been revealed either personally, through grace, or mediately, through sacred books or oral teaching, 43 *n*, 143 *n.* So in Acta S. Albei, in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod.*

Salm. col. 236; 'quidam vir ... naturali bono perfectus.'

Navigare. See **Remigare.**

Navis. The following equivalent terms occur in the present work: Alnus, Barca, Caupallus, Curuca, Cymba, Cymbula, Lignum, Navicella, Navicula, Navigium, Navis, Ratis, Scaphus. See 122 *n.*

Navis vas, structure of the ship, 81; **sentina**, bilge-water, 82 *n*; **carina**, latera, puppis, prora, pelliceum tectum, 117; **sub navi**, by and under one side of a boat ashore, 60 *n*; longa, 121; oneraria, 72.

Nepos, Irish *ua* or *o*, pl. *ui*, dat. pl. *uibh* (*u* in *Mocu*?). *Ui* or *Hy* is rendered *Nepotes*, as in *Nellis Nepotes*, the Hy-Neill. It is difficult to determine when *Mac* and *Ua* ceased to represent son and grandson, and came to denote descendant.

Nox festiva, a vigil or eve, 123 *n*; **venerabilis**, the eve of the Lord's Day, 156 *n.*

Nutritor, a fosterer, 130 *n.*

O.

Obex, a linch-pin, 119 *n.*

Obsequia, ritual requirements, 141 *n.*

Offensus, contact, 60 *n.* This rendering assumes the use of the 2nd decl. for the 4th, as in many cases cited by Rönsch, pp. 260–262. To take it as a participle agreeing with *cultello*, 'being dashed against' (the knee) seems awkward. In that case *dimisso* would be rendered 'being let fall.' Another suggestion is that we ought to have *offensa*, 'being struck,' agreeing with *genicula*. Cf. *offendi*, p. 106.

Ollamh (pron. **Ollav**). The highest rank in any learned profession. See p. xxi. *n.* O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 2, 3; *Manners*, &c. iii. 592. No derivation known.

Onoma (**humanum**), personal name (*ὄνομα*), 1 *n*, 142.

Ordinatio, clerici, 47; regis, 133; ordinationis liber vitreus, *ib.*; verba, 134.

P.

Palmula, the blade of an oar, 117.

Papilio, a pavilion or tent, 12 *n.*; Ex. xxxiii. 8; Num. xvi. 27; 2 Reg. xi. 11, Vulg.

Paradisus, a garden, 27 *n.*; the abode of blessed spirits, 137, 140, 141.

Parasticia, vaulting or roof (?), 154 *n.*

Parricidalis, murderous, 28 *n.*

Pausare, to rest, 164 *n.*

Per, over or across, 33.

Per saltum, at one leap or step, in the case of ordination to the higher orders without previous ordination to those below, lviii.

Pincerna, the cellarer, 30 *n.*

Piscina fluminalis, a fish-pool in a river, 162 *n.*

Platea, the monastic enclosure, 63 *n.*; **plateola**, *id.*, 136.

Plumatiuncula, a feather pillow, 29.

Polairi, pl. of *polaire*, a leather case to protect a reliquary, or a precious book, xlix. Also, a writing tablet, Lat. *pugillaris* (Stokes, *Trip.* 655). See **Tiaga.**

Praedicabilis, famous, 5 *n*, and frequently.

Praepositura, presidency, 57.

Praepositus, a head of a subordinate monastic house, 41 *n.*, 42, 46 *n.*, 53, 87. It often corresponds with the later *prior*, and is sometimes written *propositus*, whence *provost.*

Praetersorium, a stray or trespassing animal (?), 51 *bis.*

Primaria insula, Iona, 9 *n.*

Primarius, a religious superior, 30, 46 *n.*; a chief military officer, 43.

Primule, in the first instance, 30 *n.*

Proselytus, *προσήλυτος*, a stranger, 4 *n.*, and frequently.

Protus, *πρῶτος*, first, 71 *n.*

Provincia, in limited sense, 94 *n.*

Puer, a youth, 94; an attendant, 94 *n*, 98.
Pulsare, to nudge, 45 *n*.
Pyra, *πυρά*, fervour, 40 *n*.
Pyramis, a canopy? 19 *n*.

Q.

Quartodecimans. See xlv.

R.

Ratabusta, a coffin or tomb, 162 *n*.
Rath, a residence surrounded by an earthen rampart = the rampart itself. An Ir. word, xxxviii.
Refutare, to bid begone, 111 *n*.
Reliquiae, the 'remains' of the dead, 161. Hence the Irish *Reilig*, a burial-place. *Martyres*, Irish *Martra*, was the technical term for a saint's relics; hence Kilnamartry in Cork and Merthyr in Wales.
Remigare, to row, 160 *n*. In the Life of St. Brendan in *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Salm.*, the equivalent term is *navigare*, as in § 6, 'habebantque prosperum ventum, nichilque eis opus fuit navigare, nisi tantum vela tenere,' and in § 46, 'dum fratres acrius navigare cepissent, ait vir sanctus; Nolite, fratres, super modum navigare vel fatigare vos.'
Reuerbero, to dazzle, 149.
Robur, Roboretum, Roboreus, all express the Irish *Daire*, Oak wood, in place-names, e. g. Derry, Durrow, Kildare.
Romana civitas, the Roman State, 125.
Romanum ius, 39 *n*; mos Romanorum, 122 *n*.
Roseta, the hub of a wheel, *Vit. S. Brig.* in 119 *n*.

S.

Sabbatum, Saturday, 29 *n*, 155 *ter*; sabbatizare, to rest, 155.
Sacerdos, a presbyter, 33.
Sacramentum, a holy mystery or secret, 55 *n*, 64, 137 *bis*, 152.
Salacia unda, the ebb, 107 *n*.
Sapidus, savoury, 152 *n*, 162, 165.
Sapiens, a sage, 63 *n*.
Scotica, Irish, 100 *n*, and *passim*.
Sentina navis, bilge water, 82 *n*.
Sequestratus, reserved? threshed and winnowed? 155 *n*.
Sermusculus (sermonusculus MS. D), a little remark, 155.
Si, introducing a question, 115 *n*.
Signare, to observe? to sign? 100 *n*.
Signum, a bell, 118 *n*.
Sophia, *σοφία*, wisdom, 14 *n*.
Spiramen sanctum, holy inspiration, divine afflatus, 148. Cf. 4 Esdr. xvi. 63 in Vulg.: 'Et spiramen Dei omnipotentis qui fecit omnia.'
Stagnum, Celtic *loch*, in proper names, 42 *n*., 45 *n*.; stagnea aqua, 47 *n*.
Stola, a robe, 163 *n*.
Sub, by, in the sense of 'under the side of' (a boat), 60 *n*.
Subitatio, a sudden or rapid movement, 60, 93, 143, 146, 161.
Sudes, stakes for hurdles, 77 *n*. In the ancient wattled buildings the stakes were first driven into the ground, and then the withs were woven in and out. Carleton mentions 'a potato-bin, made up of stakes driven into the floor, and wrought with strong wicker-work' (*Traits*, &c. 1860, ii. 224). For 'staking' wild animals, 105; figurative, 138 *n*.

T.

Tabula, a board of a platform, 37 *n*; a writing-tablet, 46 *n*.
Taedialis, weary, 158.
Tailcend, probably Adze-head (Asciciput) from *tal*, adze, and *cenn*, head, xlii *n*.
Terdeni, thirty, 152.
Tiaga, pl. of *tiag*, a leather bag or satchel for the ordinary carriage of books, xlix. Lat. *theca*. In p. 78 *n*., read *tiag*.
Tigerna, a chieftain, 54 *n*.
Titulus, a monument, 158 *n*.
Transmotatio, shifting, 8. See Transmutare.

Transmutare, to shift, 44. The reading in Codex A. is *transmotata*; see the last word. *Motare* is used in *De Loc. SS.* iii. 4: 'quodcunque Domino consecratur nullo modo redimi possit aut motari; nam si quis motaverit, et quod motatum est, et pro quo motatum, sanctificabitur Domino.' Cf. Gen. i. 21, Vulg., 'omnem animam viventem et motabilem.' The confusion of 'o' and 'u' is common in Irish MSS.

Trinales, three, 61, 148, 164; 'Trinalium lignorum,' *De Loc. SS.* iii. 3.

Tuguriolum, St. Columba's cell, 37 *n.*, 45, 85, 144, 152. The form in Cod. A., as in *De Loc. SS.* i. 2, and *Conf. S. Patr.* is *tegoriolum*.

Tunica, the inner garment, 120 *n.*

U.

Uter lactarius, a milk-bag, 107 *n.*

V.

Vadum, the Irish *Ath*, ford, in proper names, 74 *n.*

Vallum monasterii, the rath or cashel, 19 *n.*, 97 *n.* See **Maceria.**

Venilia unda, the flood tide, 107 *n.*

Vespertinalis missa, vespers, 158 *n.*; **vespertinales laudes**, *id.*, 50 *n.*

Viaticum, provision for a journey; hence, the Holy Eucharist given to the dying, liv. See Ducange, s.v. The same idea is suggested by the antiphons, 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum,' and 'Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tua, viam meam,' in the Offices of the Dead. From the latter antiphon comes our word *Dirge*.

Vita comite, while life lasts, 74, 102 *n.*

Vitreus, made of glass, 101; ornamented with glass ?, 133 *n.*; like glass, 90 *n.*

X.

Xenium, ξένιον, a ceremonial present, 53 *n.*, 63.

SCRIPTURE TEXTS

Gen. i. 21 (172); xviii. 10, 14 (102); xxxiii. 11 (76); xxxviii. 18, 22 (158).
Ex iii. 5 (167); xxxiii. 8 (171).
Lev. xxvi. 19, 20 (120).
Num. xvi. 27 (171).
Deut xvii. 6 (13); xix. 15 (124).
Josh. i. 5, 18 (12); vi. 26 (137); xxiii. 14 (156).
1 Sam. xxv. 27 (76).
2 Sam. (2 Reg. Vulg.) xi. 11 (171).
1 Kings (3 Reg. Vulg.) ii. 2 (156); vii. 30 (169); xvi. 34 (137).
2 Kings iv. 16 (102); x. 5 (130).
Job xxxi. 22 (47).
Ps. xxxiv. 10, 11 (157); xlv. (50); li. 18 (41); xci. 5 (138); cxlvii. 3 (30).
Prov. xv. 13 (154); xxii. 1 (3).
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Jer. iii. 22; viii. 11 (30); xxxi. 24 (33).
Dan. vi. 20 (156); ix. 21 (145).
4 Esdr. xvi. 63 (172).
St. Matt. ii. 1 (10); ix. 20 and xiv. 36 (19); xii. 10 (115); xviii. 16 (124); xix. 5 (114); xix. 6 (115).
St. Mark ix. 22 (85).
St. Luke xxii. 15 (154).
St. John ii. 11 (71).
Acts xviii. 16 (33); xxvi. 16 (100).
Rom. ii. 14, 15 (43); vii. 2 (115).
1 Cor. iv. 20 (1); vi. 17 (14); vii. 39 (115).
2 Cor. v. 16 (47); xii. 2 (56); xiii. 1 (124).
Eph. vi. 13–17 (138).
1 Thess. v. 18 (xxxii).
1 Tim. iv. 4 (80); v. 4 (135).
2 Tim. iii. 8 (10).
Rev. vii. 14 (163); xxii. 18, 19 (165).

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THE END.

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ADAMNANI VITA S. COLUMBAE

PROPHECIES MIRACLES AND VISIONS

OF

ST. COLUMBA

(*COLUMCILLE*)

FIRST ABBOT OF IONA, A.D. 563–597

WRITTEN BY

ST. ADAMNAN

NINTH ABBOT, A.D. 679–704

A NEW TRANSLATION

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NOTE

In the present translation, accuracy has been made a first consideration, and hence the style and constructions of the original have often been imitated where the words might have been put into better English. A few explanatory notes and glosses have been added in the text. For further information the reader is referred to the Latin edition, with notes and introduction, recently published by the Clarendon Press.

J. T. F.

Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham,
May, 1895.

THE LIFE OF ST. COLUMBA.

IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, HERE BEGINNETH THE PREFACE.

Forasmuch as I wish to comply with the importunities of the brethren, and am about to write, with Christ's help, the life of our blessed patron, I will first take care to remind my readers that they should give credence to the ascertained facts here related, and think of the matter rather than the words, which, as I myself consider, seem to be unpolished and rude, and should remember that the kingdom of God standeth not in abundance of speech, but in excellency of faith; and not despise the rehearsal of events profitable to us, and that happened not without the help of God, on account of some obscure names of persons, or tribes, or places in the barbarous Scotic (Irish) tongue, which are becoming, as I think, of small account among the various other languages of foreign nations. Moreover, we thought that the reader should be put in mind of this also, that we have omitted many things concerning this man of blessed memory for the sake of brevity, even things worthy of remembrance, and have recorded as it were just a few events out of many, lest we should weary our readers. And this, as I think, every one who reads these memoirs will perhaps note, that in comparison with these few which we are now taking in hand briefly to

write down, the common report of the same blessed man which is noised abroad has scattered among the nations only the least of his most mighty deeds. Hence, after this first little preface, I will, by God's help, in the beginning of my second, first of all give some intimation concerning our abbot's name.

IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, THE SECOND PREFACE.

He was a man of venerable life and blessed memory, a father and founder of monasteries, and his name was the same as that of Jonah the prophet, for, although different in sound in the three different languages, this word, which in Hebrew is pronounced as *Iona*, but which Greek utters as *Peristera*, is also in the Latin tongue translated *Columba*. Such and so great a name is believed to have been given to the man of God not without a Divine providence. For also according to the faith of the Gospels, the Holy Ghost is shown to have descended upon the Only-begotten of the Eternal Father in the form of that little bird which is called *columba* (dove); whence for the most part in the Holy Scriptures the dove is distinguished as mystically signifying the Holy Spirit. Accordingly the Saviour also in His Gospel taught His disciples to preserve the simplicity of doves implanted in a pure heart, for the dove is a simple and innocent bird. It was right therefore that a simple and innocent man, who by his dove-like disposition made a dwelling-place within himself for the Holy Spirit, should be called by this name, to which name not unfitly corresponds that which is written in the Proverbs, 'Better is a good name than great riches.' Not undeservedly, then, was this our abbot, being already adorned by the gift of God, endowed with this his proper name. Not only from the days of his infancy, but even while many a rolling year had yet to move before the day of his birth, he was, as if a child of promise, named in a wonderful prophecy, the Holy

Spirit revealing it to a certain soldier of Christ. For a British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of the holy bishop Patrick, Mochta by name, so prophesied concerning our patron, as we now have it handed down to us from men of old who knew it as an ascertained fact. 'In the last ages of the world,' he says, 'a son is to be born, whose name Columba shall be spread abroad, known through all the regions of the isles of the ocean, and he shall brightly shine upon the last ages of the world. The grounds of the two monasteries of him and of myself will be separated by the space of one little fence; very dear to God shall the man be, and of great merit in His sight.'

In describing the life and character of this our Columba, I will in the first place, so far as I can, closely compress it in a short discourse, and at the same time set before the eyes of the reader his holy conversation. But I will also briefly mention, to be as it were eagerly tasted beforehand by my readers, certain of his miracles, which however will be more fully unfolded below, distributed through three books. The first of these will contain Prophetic revelations; the second, Divine powers exercised through him; the third, Angelic apparitions, and certain manifestations of celestial brightness upon the man of God. Let no one then regard me as saying anything untrue concerning this man, renowned as he was, or as one who would write doubtful or uncertain things; but be it known that I shall narrate those things which have been handed down in the consistent record of our ancestors and of faithful men who knew, and that I shall write without any ambiguity; and this either from what we have been able to find recorded in the pages of those who have gone before us, or from what we have learned on diligent inquiry, by hearing it from certain faithful ancients who told us without any hesitation.

St. Columba, then, was born of noble parentage; his father was Fedilmith son of Fergus, his mother Aethne by name, whose father can be called in Latin Filius Navis (son

of Nave), but in the Scotic (Irish) tongue Mac Nave. In the second year after the battle of Cooladrummon, and the forty-second of his age, being desirous to make a journey for Christ from Ireland into Britain, he sailed forth. And he, who from his boyhood had been devoted to the service of Christ and the study of wisdom, preserving, by the gift of God, soundness of body and purity of soul, showed that though placed upon earth he was fitted for the heavenly life. For he had as it were the face of an angel, he was polished in speech, holy in work, the best of men in disposition, great in counsel, living for thirty-four years an island soldier (i. e. of Christ). Not even the space of a single hour could pass by without his devoting himself to prayer, or reading, or writing, or even to some manual labour. Day and night he was so engaged, without any intermission, in unwearied exercises of fasts and vigils, that the particular burden of any one labour might seem to be beyond human possibility. And meanwhile he was dear to all, ever showing a cheerful, holy face, and was gladdened in his inmost heart by the joy of the Holy Spirit.

NOW BEGIN THE HEADINGS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP.

I. A brief narrative of miracles of power.

II. Of St. Fintan the abbot, son of Tailchan, how St. Columba prophesied of him.

III. His prophecy of Ernene son of Crasene.

IV. How he announced beforehand the coming of Cainnech.

V. Of the danger of St. Colman of the clan Mocusailne, revealed to St. Columba.

VI. His prophecies of Cormac Ua Liathain.

VII. VIII. Of Battles.

IX–XV. Of Kings.

XVI. Of two boys who died according to his word at the end of a week.

XVII. Of Colca son of Aedh Draigniche, and of a certain secret sin of his mother; a prophecy of St. Columba of a sign of the death of the same man.

XVIII. Of Laisran the gardener.

XIX. How he prophesied of a great whale.

XX. Of one Baitan, who with others rowed away to a desert in the sea.

XXI. Of one Neman, a feigned penitent, who afterwards, according to the word of the Saint, ate the flesh of a stolen mare.

XXII. Of that unhappy man who sinned with his own mother.

XXIII. Of the vowel letter I, which alone was wanting in a Psalter.

XXIV. Of the book falling into a water-vessel.

XXV. Of the horn of ink that was upset.

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XXVII. Of a certain unhappy man who shouted at the Sound when he was just about to die.

XXVIII. Of a city of the Roman empire, on which fire fell from heaven.

XXIX. Of Laisran son of Feradach, how he tried the monks in their labour.

XXX. Of Feachna Binc.

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CHAP.
XXXII. Of two strangers.
XXXIII. Of Artbranan, an old man whom he baptized in the Isle of Skye.
XXXIV. Of the shifting of a boat near the lake Loch-dia.
XXXV. Of Gallan son of Fachtna, whom demons carried off.
XXXVI. Of Findchan, a presbyter, founder of Artchain in Tiree.
XXXVII. Of a certain consolation of the Holy Spirit sent to the monks by the way, when they were wearied with toil.
XXXVIII. Of Lugud Clodus.
XXXIX. Of Enan son of Gruth (or Neman son of Gruthriche).
XL. Of a presbyter who was in Trevet.
XLI. Of Erc, a poacher.
XLII. Of Cronan, a bard.
XLIII. A prophecy of the Saint concerning Ronan son of Aedh son of Colca, and Colman Canis son of Ailene.
XLIV. Of Cronan, a bishop.
XLV. A prophecy of the Saint concerning Ernan, a presbyter.
XLVI. A prophecy of the holy man concerning the little family of a certain peasant.
XLVII. A prophecy of the holy man concerning a certain peasant of the name of Guire, son of Aedhan.
XLVIII. The beautiful foreknowledge of the holy man and his prophesying concerning another thing also, which, although a minor matter, is not, I think, one to be passed over in silence.
XLIX. The foreknowledge of the blessed man concerning the war which took place after many years in the fortress of Cethirn, and about a certain well near to that place.
L. Of the distinction between different presents, revealed to the holy man by Divine grace.

HERE BEGINS THE TEXT OF THE FIRST BOOK, OF PROPHETIC REVELATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF MIRACLES OF POWER.

Such evidences of his powers as the venerable man gave are now, in the beginning of this little book, to be briefly set forth, according to our promise given above (p. 3).

For in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by virtue of his prayers, he healed persons suffering from attacks of various diseases; and by God's help he himself, single-handed, drove out malignant and innumerable hosts of demons warring against himself, seen by bodily eyes, and beginning to bring in deadly diseases upon his monastic society, but expelled from this our primatial island. By Christ's help he restrained the furious rage of beasts, partly by striking them dead, partly by brave repulse. Again, the swellings of the waves, sometimes rising all together mountains high in a mighty tempest, were soon quieted and brought low at his prayer, and his ship, in which he chanced to be sailing at that time, was brought to the desired haven in a great calm. When staying for some days in the territory of the Picts, on his return thence he ran up his sail against a contrary wind to confound the Druids, and so his ship, sailing out in a rapid course, made as swift a voyage as if he had had a fair wind. At other times, again, winds that were contrary for sailors were turned into favourable breezes at his prayer. In the same territory that has been mentioned

above (p. 7) he took from a river a white stone, which he blessed to be of service for some cures, which stone, contrary to nature, on being dropped into water, swam on the surface as if it had been an apple. This Divine miracle was wrought in the presence of King Brude and his retinue. In the same province also he raised the dead son of a certain countryman that believed, and restored him alive and well to his father and mother, which is a still greater miracle. At another time, the same blessed man while a young deacon was residing in Ireland with Finbarr a holy bishop, and when the wine necessary for the all-holy mysteries fell short, he turned pure water into true wine by the power of prayer. But also a great light of heavenly brightness was occasionally seen by some of the brethren to be shed upon him, at different and separate times, both in the darkness of night and in the light of day. He merited also frequently to enjoy the delightful, most sweet, and luminous visits of holy angels. Often did he see the souls of certain righteous men borne by angels to the highest heavens, the Holy Spirit unveiling it to him. But also he many a time beheld other souls of evil men borne by demons to the infernal regions. He frequently foretold the future recompense of many while yet living in mortal flesh, the joys of some, the woes of others. In the terrific crashings of battles he obtained this from God by the powers of his prayers, namely, that some kings should be conquered, while other rulers should come off conquerors. And not only while yet his portion was in this present life, but even after his departure from the flesh, to him, as if to some victorious and most brave champion, was such a privilege as this vouchsafed by God, who does honour to all holy men. Of such honour conferred from heaven by the Almighty upon the honourable man, we will just give one example, which was manifested to Oswald the Saxon king the day before he engaged in battle with that most valiant of men, Cadwalla king of the Britons. For when the same King Oswald was encamped

in preparation for battle, one day while sleeping on the pillow in his tent, he sees St. Columba in a vision, beaming with angelic beauty, and his lofty stature seeming to touch the clouds with the top of his head. Which blessed man, indeed, revealing his own name to the king, and standing in the middle of the encampment, covered the same, except one little distant point, with his shining raiment, and uttered these inspiring words, the same, namely, which the Lord spake to Joshua the son of Nun before his passing over Jordan after the death of Moses, saying, 'Be strong, and play the man; lo! I will be with thee,' &c. St. Columba accordingly, speaking these words to the king in the vision, adds: 'This very night, go forth from the camp to the battle: for this time the Lord hath granted to me that thine enemies shall be put to flight, and thine adversary Cadwalla shall be delivered into thine hands; and after the battle thou shalt return victorious, and shalt reign in felicity.' The king, being roused after these words, relates this vision to his assembled thanes; all are encouraged by it, the whole folk promise to believe and receive baptism after their return from the battle, for up to that time all that Saxon land (England) had been wrapped in the darkness of heathendom and ignorance, except King Oswald himself, with twelve men, who were baptized with him during his exile among the Scots (Irish). What more need I say? That very night King Oswald, as he had been instructed in the vision, goes forth from the camp to the battle, with a much smaller army, against many thousands, gains from the Lord a happy and easy victory, as it had been promised to him; and then, King Cadwalla being slain, and he himself returned victorious from the war, he is afterwards ordained by God as the Bretwalda (over-king) of all Britain. My predecessor, our abbot Failbhe, unhesitatingly related this narrative to me, Adamnan, and he declared that he had heard it from the mouth of King Oswald himself, as he related the same vision to the abbot Seghine. But this also seems to be a thing not

to be passed by, that by means of certain songs in praise of the same blessed man, in the Scotic (Irish) tongue, and the commemoration of his name, some persons, although wicked and blood-thirsty men of lewd conversation, in that very night in which they had sung the same songs, were delivered from the hands of their enemies who had beset the house of the same singers. For they slipped out safe and sound between flames and swords and lances, while a few of their number, who, as if lightly esteeming the commemorations of the holy man, would not sing his praises, were the only ones that perished in that attack of their enemies. Witnesses to this miracle could be produced, not two or three, according to the law, but even a hundred, and more than that. And not only in one place or at one time is this same thing proved to have happened, but also at divers places and times in Scotia (Ireland) and in Britain has it been found without any doubt that the same has been done, still in a similar way and for a like cause, namely, that of deliverance. These things we have undoubtedly learned from men of experience of every district wherever the same thing has happened by a like miracle.

But, to return to the point in hand, among those miracles which the same man of the Lord, while living in mortal flesh, wrought by the gift of God, was this, that from the years of his youth he began also to be mighty in the spirit of prophecy, to predict things to come, to declare things at a distance to persons present, because although absent in the body, yet present in the spirit, he could discern things done afar off; for, according to the saying of Paul, 'He who cleaveth unto the Lord is one spirit.' Whence it was that the same man of the Lord, St. Columba, as he himself did not deny to some few brethren who sometimes inquired concerning this matter, in some contemplations of Divine grace he beheld even the whole world as if gathered together in one ray of the sun, gazing on it as manifested before him, while his inmost soul was enlarged in a wonderful manner.

We have here given this narrative of the virtues of the holy man, in order that he who reads more eagerly may, in the things which we have briefly written out, have as it were a foretaste of certain more delightful feasts that are yet to come; things which, with the Lord's help, shall be more fully recounted in the three following books. It seems to me not unfitting that I should now relate, albeit not in their proper sequence, the blessed man's prophecies which he delivered concerning certain holy and illustrious men at various times.

CHAPTER II.

OF ST. FINTAN THE ABBOT, SON OF TAILCHAN.

St. Fintan, afterwards reckoned throughout all the churches of the Scots (Irish) as a man of very high repute, preserving from boyhood, by God's help, purity of flesh and spirit, and devoted to the pursuit of Divine wisdom, had this purpose in his heart while yet passing through his youthful years, that he would take his leave of Ireland, and make a journey to visit our St. Columba. Burning with that same desire, he goes to a certain old man who was his friend, a most wise and venerable clerk in his own country, who in Scotic (Irish) was called Columb Crag, that from him, as from a judicious person, he might hear some sound advice. And when he opened out to him his thoughts of this kind, he received from him this answer: 'Who can hinder thy desire to sail across to St. Columba, devout and inspired by God as I believe it to be?' The same hour arrive by chance two monks of St. Columba, and they, being asked about their travels, say, 'We have lately rowed over from Britain, and to-day have come from Calgach's oak-wood' (Derry). 'Is your holy father Columba well?' asks Columb Crag. And they, with many tears and great sorrow, said, 'Our patron is indeed well, for not many days ago he departed to Christ.' On hearing this, Fintan and Columb and all who were within that place

wept bitterly, prostrated with their faces to the earth. Fintan presently inquires, asking, 'Whom has he left after him as a successor?' 'Baithene,' they say, 'his foster-son.' And as all cry, 'It is meet and right,' Columb says to Fintan, 'What wilt thou do now, Fintan?' Who answers and says, 'If the Lord will permit, I will sail forth to Baithene, that holy and wise man, and, if he will take me, I will have him as my abbot.' And thereupon, having kissed the above-mentioned Columb, and saying farewell to him, he prepares for sailing, and, sailing over without any, even the least, delay, arrives at the Iouan island (Iona). Now his name was not up to that time known in these parts. And hence it was that, being hospitably received in the first instance as some stranger unknown, on another day he sends a messenger to Baithene, being desirous to speak with him face to face. Who, affable as he was, and popular with strangers, bids that he be brought in to him; and he at once on entering, in the first place, as was right, prostrated himself on the ground on bended knees, but being bidden by the elder Saint, he rises, and, sitting down, is questioned by Baithene, who is not yet aware, concerning his nation and province, his name and manner of life, and his reason for undertaking the trouble of the voyage. And he, being thus questioned, tells all things in their order, and humbly begs to be admitted. And then the elder Saint, on hearing these things from his guest, and at the same time knowing him to be the man of whom St. Columba had prophesied some time before, says, 'I ought indeed to give thanks to my God upon thy arrival, my son; but know this without a doubt that thou wilt not be a monk of ours.' The guest, sadly distressed at hearing this, says, 'Perhaps I am so unworthy as not to deserve to become thy monk.' The elder thereupon replies, 'I did not say, as thou sayest, that thou wast unworthy; but although I would rather retain thee with me, yet I cannot violate the command of my

holy predecessor Columba, through whom the Holy Spirit prophesied of thee. For thus he spake one day to me alone and apart, and in prophetic utterance, saying, among other things, "O Baithene, thou shouldest hearken very attentively to these my words, for immediately after my passing away, long waited for and greatly desired, from this world unto Christ, a certain brother from Scotia (Ireland) who at this time, well regulating his youthful age by a holy life, is well trained in sacred studies; his name is Fintan, of the tribe Mocumoie, and his father's name is Tailchan; he, coming to thee, I say, will humbly beg that thou wilt receive him and number him among the rest of thy monks. But this, namely, that he should himself become the monk of any abbot, has not been predestined for him in the foreknowledge of God, but he has long ago been chosen of God as an abbot of monks, and a leader of souls to the kingdom of heaven. Do not therefore retain this said man with thee in these our islands, lest thou shouldest seem also to fight against the will of God; but tell him these words, and send him back in peace to Scotia (Ireland), to establish a monastery in the parts of Leinster near to the sea, and there feed the flock of Christ's sheep, and lead souls innumerable to the heavenly country."' On hearing these words the younger Saint gives thanks to Christ with many tears, saying, 'According to the prophetic and marvellous foreknowledge of St. Columba be it unto me.' And in those days, obeying the words of the Saints, and receiving a blessing from Baithene, he sails over in peace to Scotia (Ireland).

I learned these things as undoubted facts from a certain religious and aged presbyter, a soldier of Christ, Oisseneus by name, son of Ernan, of the clan Mocu Neth Corb, who narrated them to me, and bore witness that he had himself heard the above-mentioned words from the mouth of the same St. Fintan son of Tailchan, whose monk he had been.

CHAPTER III.

A PROPHECY OF ST. COLUMBA CONCERNING ERNENE SON OF CRASENE.

At another time the blessed man, while staying some months in the central part of Ireland, founding by Divine favour his monastery, which is called in Scotic (Irish) Dairmag (Durrow), thought it well to visit the brethren who were dwelling together in St. Kiaran's monastery at Clonmacnoise. And on hearing of his arrival, every one from the fields about the monastery, together with those who were found gathered together within it, following with all eagerness their abbot Alither, set off with one consent, going outside the enclosure of the monastery, to meet St. Columba, as an angel of the Lord. And they humbly bowed with their faces to the earth as they saw him, and with all reverence they kissed him, and raising their voices in hymns and praises, they conduct him through with all honour to the church. And, tying together a canopy (or barrier) of poles, they had it borne by four men walking in pairs, around the Saint as he walked, lest, mark you, a man of St. Columba's age should be thronged by the crowding together of such a multitude of the brethren. And in that same hour a certain servant-boy, much cast down in countenance and meanly clad, and not yet approved by his elders, came behind, hiding himself as much as he could, that he might touch even the fringe of that cloak which the blessed man wore, secretly, and if possible without his knowing or perceiving it. But yet this was not hidden from the Saint, for that which with his bodily eyes he could not see done behind him he perceived by spiritual vision. And so he suddenly stops, stretches out his hand behind him, catches the boy by the neck, and, drawing him forth, sets him in front of him, while all those who are standing

around say, 'Send him away! Send him away! Why dost thou detain this wretched and troublesome boy?' But the Saint, on the other hand, utters these prophetic words from his pure heart: 'Suffer it to be so now, brethren; suffer it to be so now.' But to the boy, who is trembling all over, he says, 'O my son, open thy mouth, and put out thy tongue.' Then the boy at his bidding, and with much trembling, opened his mouth and put out his tongue, and the Saint, stretching forth his holy hand, earnestly blesses it, and thus prophetically speaks, saying, 'Although this boy may now appear to you as one to be despised and of very low estate, yet let no one despise him on that account. For from this hour not only will he not displease you, but he will greatly please you, and in good conduct and the virtues of the soul he will by degrees advance from day to day; wisdom also and prudence shall from this day be increased in him more and more, and great is his future career in this your congregation; his tongue also shall be endued by God with wholesome doctrine and eloquence.' This was Ernene son of Crasene, afterwards famous and of the greatest note among all the churches of Scotia (Ireland).

And all these words above written, prophecies concerning himself, he narrated to the abbot Seghine, while my predecessor Failbhe, who himself also was there present with Seghine, was attentively listening, and from whose account I myself have come to know these same things which I have related. But there are many other things which the Saint prophesied in those days while he was lodged in the monastery of Clonmacnoise, the Holy Spirit revealing them unto him; as, for instance, about that disagreement which arose among the churches of Scotia (Ireland) about the different observance of the Paschal feast; and about certain visits of angels made to him, by which angels certain places within the enclosures of the same monastery were at that time frequented.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ARRIVAL OF ST. CAINNECH THE ABBOT, OF WHICH ST. COLUMBA MADE A PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT.

At another time, in the Iouan island (Iona), on a day of crashing tempest and terrible lifting up of the waves, the Saint, as he sat in his house, directed the brethren, saying, 'Prepare quickly a lodging, and draw water for washing the feet of guests.' And a certain brother of their number thereupon said, 'Who can safely sail across the Sound, narrow though it be, on a day like this, so fearfully windy as it is, and dangerous beyond measure?' On hearing which the Saint thus speaks: 'To a certain man, holy and elect, who will come to us before evening, the Almighty hath granted a calm, even in this storm.' And lo! the same day arrived a ship that had been some time expected by the brethren, with St. Cainnech on board, according to the prophecy of the Saint. The Saint with the brethren drew nigh to meet him, and he was received with distinction and hospitality. But those sailors who had been on board with Cainnech, being asked by the brethren what sort of a voyage they had had, replied exactly as St. Columba had before said of the storm and the calm, wonderfully separated, God granting it, in the same sea, and at the same time; and they stated that they had not felt anything of the storm, though they had seen it from a distance.

CHAPTER V.

OF PERIL BY THE SEA TO THE HOLY BISHOP COLMAN MOCUSAILNI, NEAR THE ISLAND CALLED RECHRU (RATHLIN).

On another day also, St. Columba, while residing at his mother church, suddenly smiling, broke out into these words, saying, 'Columban son of Beogna has just set out

to sail over to us, and is even now in great danger in the surging waves of Brecan's whirlpool, and is sitting in the prow, lifting up both his hands towards heaven; he is also blessing that tempestuous and so dreadful a sea, yet the Lord is thus frightening him, not that he is to be overwhelmed in the waves by the wrecking of the ship in which he is sitting, but rather that he may be roused to pray more earnestly, that by God's help he may come through to us after the danger is past.'

CHAPTER VI.

OF CORMAC.

At another time also, St. Columba thus prophesied of Cormac Ua Liathain, a holy man undoubtedly, one who not less than three times with much trouble sought a desert island in the ocean, but without finding one, saying, 'To-day again is Cormac, desiring to find a desert island, beginning to sail out from that district which is situated beyond the river Moy, and is called Erris of the Damnonii; yet he will not even this time find what he seeks, and for no other fault than that he has taken with him on his voyage a monk of a certain religious abbot without first obtaining his leave, a deserter indeed, who ought not by right to accompany him.'

CHAPTER VII.

PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING THE DIN OF BATTLES FOUGHT AT A DISTANCE.

After the battle of Cooladrummon, as we have been told, and after a lapse of two years, at the time when the blessed man first sailed out to travel from Scotia (Ireland), on a certain day, at the very hour in which was fought that great battle in Scotia (Ireland), which is called in Scotic (Irish) Ondemone, the same man of God, then living in Britain,

narrated everything in order in the presence of King Conall the son of Comgell, not only about the battle that was fought, but also about those kings to whom the Lord vouchsafed victory over their enemies, whose proper names are Ainmire son of Sedna, and the two sons of Mac Eirc, Domhnall and Forcus. But the Saint moreover prophesied in like manner of the king of the Cruithne (Irish Picts) who was named Eochoid Laib, how when he was beaten he escaped, sitting in his chariot.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE BATTLE OF THE MIATHI.

At another time, this is after many years had passed since the above-mentioned battle, while the holy man was in the Iouan island (Iona), suddenly he says to his attendant Diormit, 'Ring the bell.' The brethren, being stirred by the sound of this, make their way as fast as they can to the church, the holy abbot himself going before them. There he begins on bended knees to say to them, 'Now let us pray the Lord earnestly for this people and for King Aidan, for at this hour they are beginning the battle.' And after a moderate interval he goes out of the oratory, and looking up to heaven, he says, 'Now are the barbarians put to flight, and to Aidan is granted the victory, a sad one though it be.' But, further, the blessed man prophetically announced the number of the slain that were of Aidan's army, three hundred and three men.

CHAPTER IX.

PROPHECY OF ST. COLUMBA CONCERNING THE SONS OF KING AIDAN.

At another time, before the above-mentioned battle, the Saint questions King Aidan respecting his successor in the

kingdom. On his replying that he does not know which of his three sons is to reign, whether Artur, or Eochoid Find, or Domingart, the Saint straightway prophesies on this wise: 'Not one of these three will be ruler, for they will fall in battles, being destined to be slain by their enemies; but now, if thou hast any younger sons, let them come to me, and the one whom God will choose out of them as king will suddenly rush on to my lap.' And when they were called in, Eochoid Buide, according to the word of the Saint, came to him and lay in his bosom. And immediately the Saint kissed him, and blessed him, and says to his father, 'This is the survivor, and is to reign king after thee, and his sons will reign after him.' And so all things were afterwards completely fulfilled in their seasons. For Artur and Eochoid Find were slain, no long time after, in the above-mentioned battle of the Miathi; Domingart was slain in Saxonia (England) in the carnage of battle; but Eochoid Buide succeeded to the kingdom after his father.

CHAPTER X.

OF DOMHNALL SON OF AEDH.

Domhnall son of Aedh, while yet a boy, was brought by his foster-parents to St. Columba in Drum Ceatt. And, looking upon him, he asks, saying, 'Whose son is this whom ye have brought unto me?' And when they answered, 'This is Domhnall son of Aedh, who has been brought unto thee with this object, that he may return enriched by thy blessing,' the Saint, when he has blessed him, straightway says, 'This one shall survive after all his brethren, and be a very famous king, nor shall he ever be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die upon his bed, by a peaceful death, in old age, and in his own house, with a crowd of his familiar friends around him.' All which things were truly fulfilled according to the prophecy of the blessed man concerning him.

CHAPTER XI.

OF SCANDLAN SON OF COLMAN.

At the same time and place, the Saint goes to Scandlan son of Colman, then detained in bonds with King Aedh, being desirous to visit him; and, having blessed him, he comforted him and said: 'My son, be not sorrowful, but rather be glad and take courage, for King Aedh, with whom thou art in bonds, will depart from this world before thee, and, after some time of exile, thou art to reign for thirty years king in thine own nation. And again thou wilt be banished from thy kingdom, and wilt be an exile for some days, after which, recalled by the people, thou wilt reign for three short periods.' All which things were completely fulfilled according to the prophecy of the Saint. For after thirty years' time he was driven from the kingdom, and was an exile for a while; but afterwards, being recalled by the people, he reigned, not as he was expecting, for three years, but for three months (the 'three short periods'), after which he straightway died.

CHAPTER XII.

A PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING TWO OTHER RULERS, WHO WERE CALLED THE TWO GRANDSONS OF MUIREDACH, BAITAN SON OF MAC ERCE, AND EOCHOID SON OF DOMHNALL.

At another time, while he was making his way through that rough and rocky region which is called Artdamuirchol (Ardnamurchan), and hearing his companions, namely, Laisran son of Feradach, and Diormit his attendant, conversing on the road about the two kings above mentioned, he addresses to them these words: 'O my children, why do you thus talk to no purpose of these men? For both those kings of whom you are now speaking have lately died, beheaded by their

enemies. And, moreover, this very day will certain sailors arrive from Scotia (Ireland), and tell you the very same about those kings.' And on the same day sailors from Ireland, arriving at the place called Muirbolc Paradisi (Port-na-Murloch), related to the two companions above mentioned, now sailing in the same ship with the Saint, the fulfilment of the prophecy of the venerable man, concerning those kings who were slain.

CHAPTER XIII.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING AENGUS SON OF AEDH COMMAN.

Now this man, when banished from his own country with two other brethren, came as an exile to the Saint, who was then travelling in Britain, and he, blessing him, utters these prophetic words from his sacred breast: 'This youth shall remain a survivor after his other brothers are dead, and reign in the country for a long time, and his enemies shall fall before him, nor shall he ever be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but shall die in a good old age, by a peaceful death, surrounded by his friends.' All which things were completely fulfilled according to the word of the Saint. This is Aengus, whose surname was Bronbachal.

CHAPTER XIV.

A PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING THE SON OF KING DERMIT, WHO IN THE SCOTIC (IRISH) TONGUE IS NAMED AEDH SLANE.

At another time, while the blessed man is staying for some days in Scotia (Ireland), he thus prophetically speaks to the above-mentioned Aedh, as he is coming up to him, and says, 'Thou oughtest to take care, my son, lest by committing a murderous deed thou losest the prerogative, predestined for thee by God, of being over-king of the whole

realm of Ireland; for, if ever thou dost commit that crime, thou shalt not enjoy the whole kingdom of thy father, but only some part of it, in thine own tribe, and but for a short time.' Which words of the Saint were fulfilled exactly according to his prediction. For after he had killed Suibhne the son of Colman by treachery, not more, as is said, than four years and three months did he hold that part of the kingdom which had been conceded to him.

CHAPTER XV.

PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING KING RHYDDERCH SON OF TUDWAL, WHO REIGNED ON THE ROCK OF CLUAITH (DUMBARTON).

THIS king at another time, being a friend of the holy man, sent some secret message to him by Lugbe Mocumin, desiring to know whether he was to be slain by his enemies or not. But Lugbe, being questioned by the Saint concerning that same king, and kingdom, and people, answers and says, as if pitying him, 'Why dost thou inquire about that unhappy man, who can in no way know in what hour he may be slain by his enemies?' Then the Saint says, 'He never will be delivered into the hands of his enemies, but will die in his own house, upon a feather-pillow.' Which prophecy of the Saint concerning King Rhydderch was completely fulfilled, for, according to his word, he died by a peaceful death in his own house.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROPHECY OF THE SAINT REGARDING TWO BOYS, ONE OF WHOM DIED AT THE END OF THE WEEK, ACCORDING TO THE SAINT'S WORD.

AT another time, two countrymen come to the Saint, while he is dwelling in the Iouan island (Iona), one of whom,

Meldan by name, asks the Saint about his son, who was present, what would happen to him in the future. To whom the Saint thus replies: 'Is not this day the Sabbath (Saturday)? Thy son will die on the sixth day (Friday), at the end of the week, and on the eighth day (from this), that is, on the Sabbath, he will be buried here.' Thereupon, notwithstanding this answer, the other countryman, named Glasdere, also asks about the son whom he had there with him, and receives the Saint's answer as follows: 'Thy son Ernane will see his descendants, and be buried in this island when an old man.' All which things, according to the word of the Saint, were completely fulfilled in due course in the case of both boys.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROPHECY OF THE SAINT REGARDING COLCA SON OF AEDH DRAIGNICHE, WHO WAS DESCENDED FROM THE RACE OF FECHUREG, AND CONCERNING A CERTAIN SECRET SIN OF HIS MOTHER.

At another time, the Saint questions the above-mentioned Colca, who was staying with him in the Iouan island (Iona), about his mother, whether she was a religious woman or not. He says in reply, 'I know my mother to be well-conducted and of good report.' Then the Saint thus speaks prophetically: 'Set out at once for Scotia (Ireland), God willing, and question thy mother very closely concerning a certain very great secret sin of hers, which she is not willing to confess to any man.' And on hearing this he complied and went over to Ireland. Thereupon the mother, being closely questioned by him, although at first denying her sin, nevertheless confessed it, and, doing penance according to the judgement of the Saint, was healed (spiritually), and she greatly marvelled at what had been revealed to the Saint concerning her.

But Colca, having returned to the Saint, and stayed with

him for some days, questioned him concerning the end of his own life, and received from the Saint this reply: 'In thine own country, which thou lovest, thou wilt be for many years superior of some church, and if perchance at any time thou seest thy cellarer making merry in a supper of his friends, and whirling round the bottle by its neck, know that in a short time thereafter thou wilt die.' What more need I say? This same prophecy of the blessed man was so fulfilled in all respects, as it had been prophesied concerning that same Colca.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCERNING LAISRAN THE GARDENER, A HOLY MAN.

THE blessed man directed one of his monks named Trena, of the tribe Mac-Ui-Runtir, to go out as his messenger to Scotia (Ireland) on a certain day. Who, obeying the command of the man of God, prepares in haste for the voyage, and complains in the presence of the Saint that he still wants one sailor. The Saint thereupon, in reply to him, utters these words from his sacred breast, saying, 'The sailor whom thou sayest is not yet at hand for thee, I cannot now find. Go in peace; until thou comest to Ireland thou wilt have fortunate and favourable winds. And whatsoever man thou shalt see from a distance coming to meet thee, who first of all the rest will seize the prow of thy ship in Ireland, this man will be the companion of thy journey in Ireland for some days, and will accompany thee on thy return thence to us; a man chosen of God, who in this my monastery will lead a holy life for all the rest of his time.' What more shall I say? Trena, receiving a blessing from the Saint, passed over all the seas with full sails, and, as he is nearing the haven of his ship, behold! Laisran Mocumoie runs up to him faster than the rest, and seizes the prow. The sailors recognize him as being the one of whom the Saint had foretold.

CHAPTER XIX.

HOW THE SAINT KNEW BEFOREHAND AND TOLD OF A GREAT WHALE.

On a certain day, while the venerable man was living in the Iouan island (Iona), one of the brethren, Berachus by name, proposing to sail to the Ethican island (Tiree), came to the Saint in the morning and asked his blessing. And the Saint looked upon him and said, 'O my son, take great care to-day not to attempt to cross over in a direct course to the Ethican land by the wider sea, but rather go round about and sail by the smaller islands, lest, forsooth, terrified by some monstrous prodigy, thou shouldest scarcely be able to escape thence.' He, having received a blessing from the Saint, departed, got on board the ship, and set off, as if lightly regarding the word of the Saint. And thereupon, in passing over the wider reaches of the Ethican sea, he and the sailors who were with him look, and, behold, a whale of wondrous and immense size, lifting itself up like a mountain, while, floating on the surface, it opened wide its yawning mouth, all bristling with teeth. Then the rowers let down the sail, terribly alarmed, and, turning back, could scarcely escape from that tumult of the waves which arose from the motion of the monster, and, calling to mind the prophetic saying of the Saint, they greatly marvelled. The same day also, the Saint gave an intimation in the morning to Baithene, who was about to sail to the above-mentioned island, concerning the same whale, saying, 'In the middle of this last night a great whale has come up from the depths of the sea, and to-day it will lift itself up upon the surface of the ocean, between the Iouan and the Ethican islands.' Baithene answers him and says, 'That monster and I are under the power of God.' Then says the Saint, 'Go in peace, thy faith in Christ shall defend thee from this danger.' So Baithene, having received a blessing from the Saint, sails out from the

port, and as soon as he and his companions have crossed over considerable reaches of sea, they behold the whale, and while all the rest are terribly alarmed, he alone is bold, and with both his hands upraised he blesses the sea and the whale. And in that very moment the huge monster dived under the waves, and no where appeared to them again.

CHAPTER XX.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN OF A CERTAIN BAITAN, WHO HAD SAILED OUT WITH OTHERS, IN SEARCH OF A DESERT ISLAND.

At another time one Baitan, by race a descendant of Niath Tolorg, asked to be blessed by the Saint, when about to seek, with others, a desert island. The Saint, as he bade him farewell, spoke this prophetic word concerning him: 'This man, who is setting out to seek a desert in the sea, will not lie buried in a desert, but will be buried in that place where a woman will drive sheep over his grave.' And so that same Baitan, after long wanderings over the stormy seas without finding a desert place, returned to his own land, and there remained for many years as the head of a small monastic house called in Scotic (Irish) Lathreginden. When after some time he died, and was buried in the Oak Grove of Galgach (Derry), it happened in those days that, on account of some hostile incursion, the common folk near to the church of the same place fled thereto, with their women and children. Whence it happened that one day a certain woman was observed driving her lambs over the grave of the same man, recently buried. And one of those who saw it, a holy priest, said, 'Now is fulfilled the prophecy of St. Columba, circulated many years ago.' Which above-mentioned presbyter, Mael-Odhrain by name, a soldier of Christ, of the clan Mocuerin, related these things to me, explaining in detail.

CHAPTER XXI.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING ONE NEMAN, A FEIGNED PENITENT.

At another time, the Saint comes to Hinba island, and the same day he directs that some indulgence of food should be allowed even to the penitents. Now there was there among the penitents one Neman, son of Cathir, who, though bidden by the Saint, refused to accept the proffered indulgence. So the Saint addresses him in these words: 'O Neman, dost thou not accept any indulgence of refreshment allowed by me and Baithene? A time will come when thou wilt secretly eat mare's flesh in a wood with robbers.' This same man then, having afterwards returned to the world, was found, according to the word of the Saint, eating such food, taken from a wooden grill, with robbers in a wood.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF A CERTAIN WRETCHED MAN WHO SLEPT WITH HIS OWN MOTHER.

At another time, the Saint wakes up the brethren in the dead of night, and when they are gathered together in the church he says to them, 'Now let us pray to the Lord very earnestly, for in this hour some sin unheard of in the world has been perpetrated, and judicial retribution for it is greatly to be feared.' On the next day he spoke of this sin to a few who were asking about it, saying, 'After a few months that wretched creature will come to the Iouan island (Iona) with Lugaid, who knows nothing about it.' Accordingly, on another day, some months having passed, the Saint speaks to Diormit, saying: 'Rise quickly, behold, Lugaid is approaching, and tell him to put out that wretch, whom he has with him in the ship, on the Malean island (Mull), lest he should tread the sod of this island.' And he, following

the direction of the Saint, goes to the sea, and tells Lugaid on his arrival all the words of the Saint concerning the wretched man. On hearing this, the poor wretch swore that he would never take food with others unless he could first see Columba, and speak with him. Diormit, returning to the Saint, related to him these words of the unhappy man. The Saint, on hearing them, went down to the port, and immediately said to Baithene, who was suggesting that the penitence of the unhappy man should be received, bringing forward testimonies of Holy Scripture, 'O Baithene, this man has been guilty of fratricide after the manner of Cain, and has committed adultery with his own mother.' Thereupon the miserable man promised on bended knees, on the shore, that he would fulfil the requirements of penance, according to the judgement of the Saint. And the Saint said to him, 'If for twelve years thou wilt do penance among the Britons, with weeping and tears, and not return to Scotia (Ireland) so long as thou livest, peradventure God will pardon thy sin.' Thus speaking, the Saint turns to his own people and says, 'This man is a son of perdition, who will not fulfil the penance which he has promised, but will soon return to Scotia (Ireland), and there he will shortly perish, slain by his enemies.' All which things so came to pass according to the prophecy of the Saint, for the wretched man, returning in those days to Ireland, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was slain in the region called Lea. He was of the race of Turtre.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE VOWEL LETTER I.

One day Baithene comes up to the Saint, and says, 'I must have one of the brethren to run over with me and correct the Psalter which I have written.' On hearing which the Saint thus speaks: 'Why do you bring this trouble upon us without any occasion? For in this thy Psalter of which thou

speakest there will not be found one letter over much nor another wanting, except the vowel I, which alone is wanting.' And so, when the whole Psalter had been read through, it was found on examination that what the Saint had said was true.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF A BOOK THAT FELL INTO A WATER-VESSEL, AS THE SAINT HAD PREDICTED.

One day again, while sitting at the hearth in the monastery, he sees Lugbe, of the tribe Mocumin, reading a book at a distance, to whom he suddenly says, 'Take care, my son, take care; for I think that the book which thou art reading is going to fall into a vessel full of water.' Which soon so happened, for that youth above mentioned, after some short time, rose to attend to something in the monastery, and forgot the word of the blessed man, so the book, which he carelessly held under his arm, suddenly fell into the vessel full of water.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF A HORN OF INK, FOOLISHLY UPSET.

On another day, about the same time, shouting was heard on the other side of the Sound of the Iouan island (Iona); the Saint hearing the shouting while sitting in his cell that was raised on a platform, says, 'The man who is shouting across the Sound is not a person of delicate perception, for to-day, while bending over, he will upset my horn of ink.' His attendant Diormit, hearing this remark, stood for a little while at the gate, and waited for the troublesome guest who was coming, that he might keep watch over the ink-horn. But from some cause or other he soon went away, and after he had gone the dangerous guest arrived, and, in eager haste to kiss the Saint, upset the horn of ink, which was turned over by the edge of his garment.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE ARRIVAL OF A GUEST OF SOME IMPORTANCE, WHOM THE SAINT ANNOUNCED BEFOREHAND.

ANOTHER time, the Saint thus spoke to the brethren on a Tuesday: 'To-morrow, being Wednesday, we propose to fast, but yet, on the arrival of a certain dangerous guest, the customary fast will be relaxed.' Which so happened as had been foreshown to the Saint; for on the same Wednesday, in the morning, another stranger was shouting across the Sound, Aedhan by name, son of Fergno, who, as is said, ministered for twelve years to Brendan Mocualti; a very religious man he was, and he, when he arrived, relaxed the fast of that day, according to the word of the Saint.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF SOME MAN IN DISTRESS WHO WAS SHOUTING ACROSS THE SAID SOUND.

AGAIN on a certain day, hearing some one shouting across the Sound, the Saint speaks on this wise: 'That man who is shouting is greatly to be pitied; he is coming to us in quest of some matters belonging to the healing of the body, whereas it were more fitting that he should exercise true repentance to-day for his sins, for in the close of this week he will die.' Which saying those who were present told to the unhappy man on his arrival. But he, lightly esteeming it, took what he had asked for, and quickly went back, and, according to the prophetic word of the Saint, before the end of the same week he died.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN OF A CITY IN ROMAN JURISDICTION BURNT BY SULPHUREOUS FIRE THAT FELL DOWN FROM HEAVEN.

AT another time again, Lugbe, of the tribe Mocumin, of whom we have made mention above, came one day to the

Saint after the grinding of corn, and could in no wise look upon his face, overspread as it was with a wonderful flush ; and being greatly alarmed he quickly fled. But the Saint, gently clapping his hands, calls him back. And being asked by the Saint immediately on his return why he had fled so fast, he gave this reply : 'I fled because I was very much afraid.' And after some little time, acting with more confidence, he ventures to question the Saint, saying, 'Has any awful vision been manifested unto thee in this hour?' The Saint made answer thus to him : 'So terrible a vengeance has now been wrought in a remote portion of the globe.' 'What manner of vengeance?' says the youth, 'and in what region wrought?' Then the Saint thus speaks : 'A sulphureous flame has in this hour been poured from heaven over a city of Roman jurisdiction, situated within the boundaries of Italy, and nearly three thousand men, not to mention a number of mothers and children, have perished. And before the present year is over, Gallic sailors, arriving from the provinces of the Gauls, will relate these same things to thee.' Which words were after some months proved to have been true sayings. For the same Lugbe, going in company with the holy man to the Land's Head (Cantyre), questioning the captain and sailors of a bark that arrived, hears narrated by them all those things about the city with its citizens, as they were predicted by the illustrious man.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A VISION OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING LAISRAN SON OF FERADACH.

On one very cold and wintry day the Saint wept, being afflicted by a great sorrow. His attendant Diormit, asking him about the cause of his sadness, received from him this reply : 'Not without reason, O my son, am I sorrowful in this hour, at the sight of my monks, whom Laisran is distressing during the construction of some greater building

(round tower?), though they are even now worn out by heavy labour, a thing which greatly displeases me.' Wonderful to say! at that very moment of time, Laisran, dwelling in the monastery of Oakwood Plain (Durrow), in some way compelled, and as if kindled by some inward fire, orders that the monks cease from their labour, and that some refreshment of viands be prepared; and not only that they are to cease from work on that day, but to rest on other days of severe weather. The Saint, hearing in spirit these consolatory words spoken by Laisran to the brethren, ceased to weep, and, though himself dwelling in the Iouan island (Iona), related them throughout, with wondrous joy, to the brethren who were there at the time, and he blessed Laisran, the comforter of his monks.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF FEACHNA THE SAGE, HOW HE CAME AS A PENITENT TO ST. COLUMBA, BY WHOM HIS COMING WAS FORETOLD.

At another time the Saint, sitting on the top of a hill which overlooks from a distance this our monastery, turned to his attendant Diormit and spoke, saying, 'I wonder why a certain ship from Scotia (Ireland) is coming so slowly; it is bringing a certain sage who, having fallen in some wickedness, is going through a tearful repentance, and will soon be here.' Not long after that the attendant, looking towards the south, sees the sail of a ship drawing up to the port. And when he showed it to the Saint as it approached, he quickly rises, saying, 'Let us go to meet the stranger, whose true repentance Christ is accepting.' But Feachna gets down from the ship and runs up to meet the Saint on his way down to the port, and with weeping and lamentation, kneeling at his feet on bended knees, bewails his sins most bitterly, and confesses them before all who were there present. Then the Saint, weeping no less than he, says to him, 'Arise, my son, and be comforted; thy sins which thou hast committed are put away: for, as it is written, "A contrite and a humble heart God doth

not despise."' And he arises, is joyfully received by the Saint, and after some days is sent to Baithene, then living as provost in the Plain of Lunge, and goes away in peace.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN ABOUT CAILTAN, HIS MONK.

At another time, sending two monks to another monk of his named Cailtan, who at that time was provost in a cell which is now called by the name of his brother Diuni, close upon the lake of the river Aba (Loch Awe), the Saint sends by those messengers these words: 'Make haste and go quickly to Cailtan, and tell him to come to me without any delay.' And they obeyed the word of the Saint and went forth, and, arriving at Diuni's cell, informed Cailtan of the nature of their message. And he, in that same hour, without the least delay, followed the messengers of the Saint, and, accompanying them on their journey, quickly came to him, then dwelling in the Iouan island (Iona). On seeing him, the Saint thus speaks to him, and addresses him in these words: 'O Cailtan, thou hast done well in dutifully hastening to me; rest a while. It was for this reason that I, loving thee as a friend, sent to invite thee, that thou mayest finish the course of thy life in true obedience here with me. For before the end of this week thou wilt depart unto the Lord in peace.' On hearing which, he gives thanks to God, kisses the Saint with many tears, receives from him his benediction, and goes to the guest-house. And, falling sick the very night following, he passed away to Christ the Lord in the same week, according to the word of the Saint.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FORESIGHT AND PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING TWO BROTHERS WHO WERE STRANGERS.

On a certain Lord's day, there was a shouting beyond the Sound which has so often been mentioned. The Saint, on

hearing this shout, says to the brethren who were there, 'Go quickly, and bring at once the strangers who are coming to us from a distant land.' They, complying without delay, crossed the Sound and brought the guests, whom the Saint, when he had kissed them, straightway asks about the object of their journey. They answer and say, 'We are come that we may sojourn with thee even for this year.' To whom the Saint gave this reply: 'You will not be able to sojourn with me for the space of one year, as you say, unless you first undertake the monastic vow.' Those who were present greatly marvelled at this being said to guests only arriving in that very hour. In answer to these words of the Saint, the elder brother answers and says, 'Although up to this hour we never had this purpose in our minds, yet will we follow thy counsel, divinely inspired as we believe it to be.' Why say more? At that same moment of time they entered the oratory with the Saint, and devoutly, on bended knees, took the monastic vow. Then the Saint turns to the brethren, and says, 'These two strangers, offering themselves a living sacrifice to God, and in a short time fulfilling long years of Christian warfare, will soon, within this very month, pass over in peace to Christ the Lord.' On hearing which, both brothers, giving thanks to God, were led down to the guest-house, and in seven days' time the elder brother began to be sick, and at the end of the same week passed away to the Lord. Likewise also the other, falling sick after seven other days, happily passed to the Lord in the end of that week. And so, according to the true prophecy of the Saint, within the limit of the same month, both of them close this present life.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING ONE ARTBRANAN.

While the blessed man was staying for some days in the Scian island (Skye), he struck with his staff a little spot of ground in a certain place near to the sea, and thus says to his companions, 'Wonderful to say, O my sons! on this very

spot of ground, a certain aged heathen, keeping the moral law of nature throughout his whole life, will this day be baptized, and will die, and will be buried.' And, behold, after about an hour's time a vessel arrived at the same port, in the forepart of which a certain decrepit old man was brought, the chief of the cohort of Geona, whom two youths lift out of the ship, and set down before the eyes of the blessed man. And he, receiving the word of God from the Saint through an interpreter, at once believed, and was baptized by him; and after the ministrations of baptism were completed, he thereupon died in the same place, and there his companions bury him, raising over him a heap of stones. And this is still to be seen on the sea-shore; and the river of the same place in which he had received baptism is even to this day called by the inhabitants, from his name, Dobur Artbranani.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF A BOAT THAT WAS MOVED AT THE DIRECTION OF THE SAINT.

At another time, while he was on a journey beyond the Backbone of Britain (Drum-Alban), and had found a certain little village among desert fields, the Saint there took up his quarters by the bank of a rivulet entering a lake; and the same night he wakes his sleeping companions, just half asleep, saying, 'Now! now! Quickly run out and bring hither directly our boat, which ye have put into a house on the other side of the stream, and put it in a house nearer to us.' They at once obeyed and did as they were told, but, while they were resting again, the Saint after some time quietly nudges Diormit, and says, 'Now! stand outside the house; see what is going on in that village where you first put our boat.' He, obeying the direction of the Saint, goes out of the house, and on looking he sees that the whole village is being burnt up in devouring flame, and so, returning to the Saint, he related to him what was going on there. The Saint then told the brethren about a certain envious adversary who had burnt those houses that very night.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF GALLAN SON OF FACHTNA, WHO WAS IN THE JURISDICTION OF COLGA SON OF CELLACH.

One day again, the Saint, while sitting in his cell, speaks in prophecy to the same Colga, who is reading by his side, saying, 'Now are demons snatching away to hell an extortioner, one of the head men of thy jurisdiction.' But, on hearing this, Colga wrote down the time and hour on a tablet, and, when he returned after some months to his native country, he found, on inquiring of the inhabitants of that neighbourhood, that Gallan son of Fachtna had died at the very moment of time in which the blessed man told him of one snatched away by demons.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN OF FINDCHAN THE PRESBYTER, THE FOUNDER OF THAT MONASTERY WHICH IN SCOTIC (IRISH) IS CALLED ARTCHAIN, IN THE ETHICAN LAND (TIREE).

At another time, the above-mentioned presbyter Findchan, a soldier of Christ, brought with him from Scotia (Ireland) into Britain, wearing the clerical habit, Aedh surnamed the Black, sprung of a royal race, a Cruthinian (Irish Pict) by nation, that he might sojourn with him in his monastery for some years. Now this Aedh the Black had indeed been a very bloody man and a murderer of many, and had even slain Diormit son of Cerbul, ordained by the will of God monarch of all Scotia (Ireland). This same Aedh then, after some time passed in the above sojourn, was ordained presbyter while with the above-named Findchan, a bishop having been summoned, although not rightly. The bishop, however, did not venture to lay a hand upon his head unless first Findchan himself, who loved Aedh 'after the flesh,' would place his right hand upon his head for a confirmation

of the act. When such an ordination as this was afterwards made known to the holy man, he was much grieved; then straightway he utters this fearful sentence, concerning Findchan himself, and concerning Aedh who had been ordained, saying, 'That right hand which Findchan, contrary to law and ecclesiastical regulation, has laid on the head of a son of perdition, will soon rot, and, after great agonies of pain, will go before him to the earth for burial. and he will survive and live for many years after the burial of his hand. Aedh moreover, who was improperly ordained, will return like a dog to his vomit, will again be a bloody murderer, and at last, pierced by a lance, he will fall from wood into water, and die of drowning. Such an end of life he who murdered the monarch of all Scotia (Ireland) has long ago deserved.' Which prophecy of the blessed man was fulfilled in the case of both. for the right hand of the presbyter Findchan rotted through a blow. and went before him to the earth, being buried in that island which is called Ommon; but he himself, according to the word of St. Columba, lived for many years after. And Aedh the Black, a presbyter only in name, having returned to his former sins, was by craft pierced through with a lance, fell from the forepart of a ship into the water of a lake, and so perished.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF A CERTAIN CONSOLATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT SENT TO THE MONKS BY THE WAY, WHEN THEY WERE WEARIED WITH TOIL.

Among these memorable utterances of the prophetic spirit, it seems not out of place also to make a record in our little narrative, of a certain spiritual consolation which on one occasion the monks of St. Columba perceived, when his spirit met them by the way. For on one occasion the

brethren, returning to the monastery in the evening after their harvest work, and arriving in that place which in Scotic (Irish) is named Cuuleilne, which place is said to be midway between the western plain of the Iouan island (Iona) and our monastery, they appeared each to feel within himself something wonderful and unusual, which, however, not one of them dared in any way to intimate to another. And so for some days they perceived it in the same place, and at the same evening hour. But in those days St. Baithene was the superintendent of labours among them, and he thus spoke to them one day, saying, 'Now, brethren, if ye perceive any unusual and unexpected marvel in this place midway between the harvest-field and the monastery, ye ought each of you to declare it.' Then one of them, a senior, says, 'According to thy bidding I will tell what has been shown to me in this place; for in these days that are passing, and even now, I perceive some fragrance of wondrous odour, as if that of all flowers collected into one; also some burning as of fire, not penal, but somehow sweet; moreover also a certain unaccustomed and incomparable gladness diffused in my heart, which suddenly consoles me in a wonderful manner, and gladdens me to such a degree that I can remember no more the sadness, nor any labour. Yea, even the load, although a heavy one, which I am carrying on my back from this place until we come to the monastery, is so lightened, I know not how, that I do not perceive that I have a load at all.' What more shall I say? So all the harvest-workers declare, one by one, each for himself, that they have had sensations in all respects as one of them had narrated openly, and individually all together on bended knees besought of St. Baithene that he would take means to inform them, in their ignorance, of the cause and origin of the wondrous consolation which he and the rest were alike perceiving. To whom thereupon he gave this reply, saying, 'Ye know that our father Columba thinks anxiously about us, and

takes it sadly that we come to him so late; but he being mindful of our labour, and by reason that he comes not to meet us in the body, his spirit meets our steps, and it is that which gladdens us with such consolations.' On hearing these words the brethren, still kneeling, with joy unspeakable, and with hands spread out to heaven, venerate Christ in the holy and blessed man.

But we ought not to be silent respecting this tradition concerning the voice of the blessed man in chanting the Psalms, which has undoubtedly been handed down from some who put it to the test. Which voice of the venerable man chanting in the church with the brethren, lifted up in a wonderful manner, was sometimes heard for four furlongs, that is, five hundred paces, but sometimes even for eight furlongs, that is, a thousand paces. Wonderful to relate! In the ears of those who were standing with him in the church, his voice did not exceed the ordinary measure of the human voice in loudness of tone. But yet at the same hour those who were standing more than a thousand paces off heard the same voice so distinctly that they could even distinguish by the separate syllables what verses he was singing, for his voice sounded alike in the ears of those close at hand and of those who were listening at a distance. However, this miracle of the voice of the blessed man is not proved to have occurred always, but only on rare occasions, yet it could not have happened at all without the grace of the Divine Spirit.

But we must not be silent concerning what is said once to have taken place, in connexion with such wonderful elevation of his voice, close to the fortress of King Brude. For while the Saint himself, with a few brethren, was conducting after their manner the evening praises of God outside the king's fortress, some Druids, coming nearer to them, tried to hinder them as much as possible, that the voice of Divine praise proceeding from their mouth might not be heard among the heathen people. As soon as

he found this out, the Saint began to sing the forty-fourth (45th) psalm, and in a wonderful manner his voice was at that moment so lifted up in the air, like some dreadful thunder, that both king and people were affrighted by terror too great to be endured.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF A CERTAIN RICH MAN NAMED LUGUD CLODUS.

At another time, while the Saint was staying in Scotia (Ireland) for some days, he saw another clerk mounted on a chariot, and gaily driving over the plain of Bregh (in Meath). First asking about him who he was, he received this answer concerning him from the man's friends: 'This is Lugud Clodus, a man who is rich, and honoured among the people.' The Saint thereupon answers and says, 'I do not so regard him, but rather as a poor wretched creature who on the day of his death will be retaining at his place in one enclosure three stray cattle of his neighbours; and of these strays he will order one selected cow to be killed for himself, and will ask for some part of her cooked flesh to be given to him, while he is lying in the same bed with a harlot. And as soon as he takes a bite out of that portion, he will be choked there and then, and will die.' All which things, as is related by well-informed persons, were fulfilled according to the prophetic word of the Saint.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PROPHECY OF THE SAINT CONCERNING NEMAN SON OF GRUTHRICHE.

For now, when the Saint reproved him for his evil deeds, he thought lightly of the Saint, and derided him. The blessed man answers him and says, 'In the Name of the Lord, Neman, I will speak some true words of thee. Thine enemies will find thee lying in the same bed with a harlot,

and there wilt thou be slain. Demons also will carry off thy soul to the places of punishments.' This same Neman, being found after some years in the same bed with a harlot, in the region of Cainle (not identified), met with his end according to the word of the Saint, being beheaded by his enemies.

CHAPTER XL.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING A CERTAIN PRESBYTER.

At another time, while the Saint was staying in the country of the Scots (Irish) mentioned a little above, he came by chance on the Lord's day to a neighbouring monastery called in Scotic (Irish) Trioit (Trevet in Meath). The same day, hearing a presbyter celebrating the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, one whom the brethren residing there had chosen to perform the solemnities of masses because they considered him to be very religious, he suddenly utters from his mouth this fearful speech: 'Clean and unclean things are now perceived to be equally mingled together, that is, the pure mysteries of the sacred offering are administered by an impure man, who meanwhile is hiding in his conscience a certain great crime.' Those who were within, hearing this, stood amazed, greatly terrified. But he of whom these words were said was constrained to confess his sin in the presence of all. And the fellow-soldiers of Christ, who stood around the Saint in the church, and heard him laying bare the hidden things of the heart, glorified the Divine knowledge in him, greatly wondering.

CHAPTER XLI.

PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING ERC MOCUDRUIDI, A ROBBER, WHO DWELT IN THE ISLAND OF COLONSAY.

At another time the Saint, while dwelling in the Iouan island (Iona), called to him two of the brethren, men whose

names were Lugbe and Silnan, and gave them directions, saying, 'Now pass over to the Malean island (Mull), and in the fields near the sea seek out Erc, a robber, who last night came alone and secretly from the island of Colonsay, and through the day tries to hide himself under his coracle covered with hay, among the sand-hills, that by night he may sail over to the little island where the sea-calves (seals), that are ours by right, are bred and breed, that the greedy and most thievish fellow may fill his coracle with them when savagely slain, and then make his way back to his own home.' On hearing these words they obediently set out, and find the thief hidden in the places indicated by the Saint, and then they brought him to the Saint, as he had instructed them to do. On seeing him, the Saint says to him, 'Why dost thou often steal the goods of others, transgressing the Divine command? When thou art in need, come to us and thou shalt receive for the asking whatever is necessary.' And thus saying, he ordered sheep to be killed, and given to the wretched thief in place of the seals, lest he should return empty to his home. And after some time the Saint, foreseeing in spirit that the death of the thief was at hand, sends to Baithene, at that time dwelling in the Plain of Lunge (in Tiree) as manager, to send to the same thief a fat sheep and six pecks (of corn) as his last gifts. Which being sent over by Baithene as the Saint had directed, on that day the wretched thief was found overtaken by sudden death, and the presents that had been sent over were made use of at his funeral feast.

CHAPTER XLII.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING CRONAN, A BARD.

At another time, while the Saint was sitting one day with the brethren near Lough Key, by the mouth of the river called in Latin Bos (the Boyle), a certain Scotic (Irish) bard came down to them; and when, after some conversation,

he had gone away, the brethren say to the Saint, 'How was it that thou didst not call upon Cronan the Bard, when he was going away from us, for some song to be musically rendered after the manner of his art?' The Saint answered them, 'Wherefore do ye also now utter useless words? How could I ask for a song of joy from that unfortunate creature who even now, slain by his enemies, has so soon come to the end of his life?' No sooner had the Saint thus spoken, than, lo! some man shouts over the river, saying, 'That bard who has just returned from you safe and sound, has in this very hour been slain by his enemies on the road.' Then all who were present, greatly marvelling, looked in amazement one upon another.

CHAPTER XLIII.

A PREDICTION OF THE HOLY MAN REGARDING TWO CHIEFTAINS, WHO PERISHED BY WOUNDS MUTUALLY INFLICTED.

At another time, when the Saint was living in the Iouan island (Iona), while he was reading, suddenly, in great amazement, he sighed in the very deepest sorrow. Seeing which, Lugbe Mocublai, who was present, began to inquire of him the cause of his sudden grief. To whom the Saint, in great sorrow, gave this reply: 'Two men of royal race in Scotia (Ireland) have just now perished, pierced by wounds mutually inflicted, not far from the monastery called Cellrois (Magheross in Monaghan) in the province of the Maugdorni (Cremorne and Farney), and on the eighth day, after this week has passed, another man will shout over the Sound, who, coming from Ireland, will tell of these deeds thus done. But, O my son, tell this to no man so long as I live.' Accordingly, on the eighth day, there was a shout over the Sound. Then the Saint, calling the above-named Lugbe to him, whispers to him, and says, 'He who is now shouting over the Sound is that aged traveller of whom I told thee before; go, and bring him to us.' And he, being quickly

led up, among other things told this also, saying, 'Two men of noble birth in the province of the Maugdorni have died, inflicting mutual wounds, namely, Colman the Hound son of Ailen, and Ronan son of Aedh son of Colga, of the race of the Easterns (East Oriel), near the bounds of those places where stands the monastery called Cellrois.' After these words of that story, the same Lugbe, a soldier of Christ, began to question the Saint aside, saying, 'Tell me, I beseech thee, about these prophetic revelations, so wonderful as they are, how they are manifested to thee, whether by sight, or hearing, or in some other way unknown to men?' To this the Saint replies, 'Concerning that very subtle matter about which thou art now inquiring, I shall not be able to give thee any, even the very least intimation whatever, unless first, on bended knees, thou wilt promise me faithfully, by the Name of the High God, that thou wilt never communicate this most secret mystery to any man all the days of my life.' He then, hearing this, at once knelt down, and, with his face prostrated to the earth, fully promised everything according to the direction of the Saint. Which promise being promptly made, the Saint thus speaks to him as he rises: 'There are some, although very few, to whom Divine grace has granted this, that they can clearly and most distinctly see, at one and the same moment, as it were under a single ray of the sun, even the entire circuit of the whole earth, with its surrounding of sea and sky, the inmost recess of their mind being wondrously enlarged.' Although the Saint appears to relate this marvel of others of the elect, avoiding vainglory in every way, yet no one ought to doubt that he was speaking of himself, although by an indirect reference; no one, that is, who reads Paul the Apostle, that chosen vessel, speaking of such visions revealed to himself. For he did not write thus, 'I know myself,' but, 'I know a man, caught into the third heaven.' Which, although he appears to say it of another, yet no one doubts that he, preserving his humility, is so speaking of his own person.

Whom also our own Columba followed in the above-mentioned narration of spiritual visions, which the aforesaid man, whom the Saint greatly loved, could scarcely extract from him even by strong entreaties beforehand, as he himself bore witness after the departure of St. Columba, before other holy men, from whom we have learned these things which we have above related undoubtingly, concerning the Saint.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF CRONAN, A BISHOP.

At another time, a certain stranger came to the Saint from the province of the Munster-men, and in his humility disguised himself as much as he could, that no one might know he was a bishop, but yet this could not be hidden from the Saint. For on one Lord's day, being requested by the Saint to prepare Christ's Body according to custom, he calls the Saint to him, that they may break the Lord's Bread together, as two presbyters. The Saint thereupon goes up to the altar, and, suddenly looking on his face, thus addresses him: 'Christ bless thee, brother; break this bread alone, by the episcopal rite; now we know that thou art a bishop. Wherefore hast thou thus far tried to disguise thyself, so that the veneration due to thee was not rendered unto thee by us?' On hearing this discourse of the Saint, the humble stranger, greatly astonished, worshipped Christ in the holy man, and those who were present, greatly wondering, glorified the Lord.

CHAPTER XLV.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING ERNAN, A PRESBYTER.

At another time, the venerable man sent over Ernan, his uncle, an aged presbyter, to the headship of that monastery

which he had founded in Hinba island (Eilean-na-Naoimh ?) many years before. And so when the Saint blessed him and kissed him as he went out, he spoke this prophecy concerning him, saying, 'I do not hope again to see this my friend, now departing, alive in this world.' Accordingly the same Ernan, after not many days, being afflicted by some trouble, was at his own desire carried back to the Saint; who, greatly rejoicing at his arrival, began to go and meet him at the landing-place. Now Ernan himself, although with feeble, nevertheless his own, footsteps, was endeavouring with great alacrity to meet the Saint on the way from the harbour. But when there was a space of about four and twenty paces between the two, he, being overtaken by sudden death, and before the Saint could look upon his face in life, breathed his last and fell to the earth, that the word of the Saint might in no way fail of its effect. Wherefore in the same place a cross has been fixed in (a base, p. 133) before the door of the kiln, and another cross stands in like manner, fixed in where the Saint stood still when Ernan died.

CHAPTER XLVI.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING THE LITTLE FAMILY OF A CERTAIN PEASANT.

Another time again, a certain peasant came among others to the Saint while staying in the district which is called in Scotic Coire Salchain (Corry in Morvern ?). And when the Saint saw him coming to him in the evening, he asked, 'Where dwellest thou?' He says, 'I dwell in the district which borders on the shores of the lake Crogreth (Loch Creran ?).' 'Savage marauders,' says the Saint, 'are now harrying that province of which thou speakest.' On hearing which the unhappy peasant began to bewail his wife and children. The Saint, seeing him very sorrowful, consoles him and says, 'Go, poor fellow, go; the whole of thy little family has escaped by fleeing to the mountain; but the

invaders have driven off all thy little herd with them, and likewise cruel robbers have carried away all thy household goods along with the booty.' On hearing this the peasant returned to his own country, and found all things fulfilled exactly as predicted by the Saint.

CHAPTER XLVII.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN CONCERNING A CERTAIN PEASANT OF THE NAME OF GUIRE, SON OF AEDHAN.

At another time, a certain peasant, the bravest of all the men of that period among the people of Korkureti (Corkaree?), inquires of the holy man by what death he is to be overtaken. To whom the Saint says, 'Not in battle, nor on the sea, wilt thou die; the companion of thy journey, of whom thou hast no suspicion, will be the cause of thy death.' 'Perchance,' says Guire, 'some one of my friends who accompany me may design to kill me; or my wife, for the love of some younger man, may put me to death by foul play.' 'Not so,' says the Saint, 'will it happen.' 'Wherefore,' says Guire, 'art thou not willing now to inform me of my murderer?' 'For this reason,' says the Saint, 'I am unwilling now to tell thee anything more plainly about that thy dangerous companion, lest the frequent recollection of it being recalled should sadden thee overmuch, until the day comes in which thou wilt prove the truth of the same thing.' Why delay we with words? After some courses of years, the same Guire above mentioned, by chance one day sitting by a boat, was scraping the bark (or a knot?) from a spear-shaft with his own knife; then hearing others fighting among themselves near at hand, he quickly rises to separate them from their fighting, and, the same knife being carelessly left on the ground in that sudden movement, his knee was severely wounded by lighting on it. And now that such a companion brought it about, the cause of his death became manifest; and he himself, greatly

impressed in his mind, at once recognized it, according to the prophecy of the holy man; and after some months, succumbing to that wound, he dies.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE BEAUTIFUL FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLY MAN AND HIS PROPHESYING CONCERNING ANOTHER THING ALSO, WHICH, ALTHOUGH A MINOR MATTER, IS NOT, I THINK, ONE TO BE PASSED OVER IN SILENCE.

For, indeed, at another time, when the Saint was living in the Iouan island (Iona), he calls one of the brethren to him, and thus addresses him: 'On the third day from this that is breaking, thou oughtest to sit on the sea-shore, and look out in the western part of this island; for from the northern part of Ireland, a certain guest, a crane to wit, beaten by the winds during long and circuitous aerial flights, will arrive after the ninth hour of the day (3 p.m.), very weary and fatigued, and, its strength being almost gone, it will fall down before thee and lie on the beach. Thou wilt take care to lift it up tenderly, and carry it to some neighbouring house; and, while it is there hospitably received, thou wilt diligently feed it, attending to it for three days and three nights; and then, refreshed after the three days are fulfilled, and unwilling to sojourn any longer with us, it will return with fully recovered strength to its former sweet home in Scotia (Ireland) whence it came; and I so earnestly commend it to thee, because it comes from our fatherland.'

The brother obeys, and on the third day, after the ninth hour, as he had been bidden, he awaits the coming of the anticipated guest, and then, when it is come; fallen, he lifts it from the beach; weak, he bears it to the hospice; hungry, he feeds it. And when he has returned to the monastery in the evening, the Saint, not questioning, but declaring, says, 'God bless thee, my son, for that thou hast well attended

to our stranger guest, which will not tarry long in its wanderings, but after three days will return to its native land.' Which the event also proved, just as the Saint predicted. For after being lodged for three days, it first lifted itself up on high by flying from the earth in the presence of its ministering host; then, after looking out its way in the air for a little while, it crossed the ocean wave, and returned to Ireland in a straight course of flight on a calm day.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING THE WAR WHICH TOOK PLACE AFTER MANY YEARS IN THE FORTRESS OF CETHIRN, AND ABOUT A CERTAIN WELL NEAR TO THAT PLACE.

At another time, when, after the conference of the kings, namely, Aedh the son of Ainmire, and Aidan the son of Gabran, the blessed man was returning to the watery plains, he and the abbot Comgell sit down not far from the above-mentioned fortress, on a bright summer's day. Then water is brought to the Saints in a brazen vessel from a spring hard by, for them to wash their hands. Which when St. Columba had received, he thus speaks to the abbot Comgell, who is sitting beside him: 'The day will come, O Comgell, when that spring, from which has come the water now brought to us, will not be fit for any human purposes.' 'By what cause,' says Comgell, 'will its spring water be corrupted?' Then says St. Columba. 'Because it will be filled with human blood, for my family friends and thy relations according to the flesh, that is, the Hy-Neill and the Pictish people, will wage war, fighting in this fortress of Cethirn close by. Whence in the above-named spring some poor fellow of my kindred will be slain, and the basin of the same spring will be filled with the blood of him that is slain with the rest.' Which true

prophecy of his was fulfilled in its season after many years. In that same war, as many people know, Domhnall son of Aedh came off victorious, and in the same spring, according to the prophecy of the holy man, a certain man of his race was slain. Another soldier of Christ, Finan by name, who for many years irreproachably led an anchorite's life near the monastery of Oakwood Plain (Derry), relating some things about the same battle, which was fought while he was looking on, declared to me, Adamnan, that he saw the dead body in the above-mentioned spring; and that on the same day, on his return from the battle-field to the monastery of St. Comgell, called in Scotic (Irish) Cambas, for he had at first set out thence, he there found two aged monks of St. Comgell; to whom when he told some particulars of the battle fought before his eyes, and of the spring corrupted with human gore, they at once say, 'Columba was a true prophet, for he announced many years beforehand in our hearing, in the presence of St. Comgell, sitting near the fortress of Cethirn, that all these things, fulfilled to-day, which thou tellest of the battle and of the spring, would surely come to pass.'

CHAPTER L.

OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN DIFFERENT PRESENTS, REVEALED TO THE HOLY MAN BY DIVINE GRACE.

In the same period Conall, bishop in Coleraine, collected wellnigh countless presents from the people of the plain of Eilne (between the rivers Bush and Bann), and prepared a hospitable reception for the blessed man on his return after the conference of the above-mentioned kings, with a great multitude following him. Then the many presents of the people, laid in the courtyard of the monastery, are given to the holy man to be blessed on his arrival. And while he is looking upon them as he blesses them, he specially points out the present of a certain rich man, and

says, 'The mercy of God attendeth the man whose present this is, for his charities to the poor, and for his liberality.' And again he distinguishes another present among many others, saying, 'I can in no wise taste of this present of a wise man who is also avaricious, unless he first exercises true repentance for the sin of avarice.' Then Columb son of Aedh, conscious of his fault, and soon hearing this saying going about among the multitude, runs up and does penance before the Saint on bended knees, and promises that thenceforth he will renounce avarice; and that liberality shall follow, together with his amendment of character. And, being bidden by the Saint to rise, he was from that hour cured of the vice of a grasping disposition. For he was a wise man, as had been revealed to the Saint in his present. But that liberal rich man of the name of Brendan, of whose present we have spoken a little above, himself also hearing the words of the Saint spoken concerning him, kneels at the feet of the Saint, and implores that the Saint will pour out prayer for him to the Lord. Then, being first reproved by him (the Saint) for certain sins of his, he exercised repentance, and promised to amend thenceforth. And so each one was amended and cured of his own special vices.

With like knowledge the Saint also at another time recognized the present of a certain grasping man, named Diormit, among many other presents collected on his arrival at the Great Cell of Deathrib (Kilmore in Roscommon?).

It may be enough to have written these things concerning the prophetic grace of the blessed man, a few out of many, as it were, in the text of this first book. Few, I say; for this is not to be doubted of the venerable man, that there may have been holy secrets hidden within, which in no wise could come to the knowledge of men, far more numerous than those which, like some little droppings at times, escaped as if through a few fissures of some vessel full of most actively fermenting new wine. For holy and apostolic men, avoiding vainglory, for the most part, and

so far as they are able, are quick to conceal some internal secrets that are inwardly shown to them by God. But God makes manifest some of those, whether they themselves will or not, and in some way brings them out, willing indeed to honour those Saints who honour Him, that is, the Lord Himself, to Whom be glory for ever and ever.

Here we make an end of this first book; now in the next place begins the book of his miraculous powers, which are for the most part also associated with prophetic foreknowledge.

HERE BEGIN THE HEADINGS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF MIRACLES OF POWER.

CHAP.

I. Of the wine that was made out of water.

II. Of the very rough-flavoured apples of a certain tree, turned sweet by the blessing of the Saint.

III. Of the land that was ploughed and sown after the middle of summer, yielding a ripe harvest in the beginning of the month of August.

IV. Of a pestiferous cloud, and the healing of the sick.

V. Of Maugina, a holy virgin, and the fracture of her hip cured.

VI. Of the diseases of many, which were healed in Drum Ceatt by the touch of the hem of his garment.

VII. Of a piece of rock-salt blessed by the Saint, which the fire could not consume.

VIII, IX. Of book-leaves written by the hand of the Saint, which could in no wise be injured by water.

X. Of water which was brought forth from the hard rock at the prayer of the Saint.

XI. Of the water of a spring, which the Saint blessed and healed beyond Drum-Alban.

XII. Of the peril of the Saint on the sea, and of the great storm which was at once turned into a calm when he prayed.

XIII. Of another peril he was in, and of St. Cainnech praying for him and his companions.

XIV. Of the staff of St. Cainnech, forgotten at the harbour.

XV. Of Baithene and of Columban son of Beogna, who asked of the Saint that a favourable wind might be granted to them when sailing on the same day, but in different directions.

XVI. Of the driving away of a demon that lurked in a milk-pail.

XVII. Of a pail which a certain sorcerer filled by devilish art with milk taken from a bull; but, at the prayer of the Saint, that which appeared to be milk was turned into blood, that is, into its own proper nature.

CHAP.

XVIII. Of Lugne Mocumin, whom the Saint cured of an issue of blood, which frequently flowed from his nostrils, by prayer and the touch of his fingers.

XIX. Of a great salmon found in a river, according to the word of the Saint; of two fishes found, according to his prophecy of them, in the river called Boo (Boyle).

XX. Of a certain peasant called Nesan the hunchback; of a very grasping rich man named Uigene.

XXI. Of Columban, a man of equally humble condition, whose cattle the holy man blessed while very few in number, but which after his benediction increased even to the number of one hundred.

XXII. Of the death of John son of Conall, on the very day that he contemptuously dishonoured the Saint.

XXIII. Of the death of one Feradach, a fraudulent man, announced beforehand by the Saint.

XXIV. Of another persecutor, whose name is called in Latin Manus Dextera.

XXV. Of another persecutor of the innocent, who in the province of Leinster, being terribly rebuked by the Saint, fell dead at the same moment, like Ananias before Peter.

XXVI. Of his causing the death of a boar, which fell at a distance from the Saint, brought down by the sign of the Lord's cross.

XXVII. Of another beast, a water animal, which, at his prayer, and when he raised his hand against it, was driven back that it might not hurt Lugne, when he was swimming close by.

XXVIII. Of the viper serpents of the island of Iona, which, from the day that the Saint blessed it, could not hurt any men, nor even cattle.

XXIX. Of a spear signed by him, which from that time could in no wise hurt any living creature, however powerfully thrust.

XXX. Of the healing of Diormit when sick.

XXXI. Of the healing of Fintan son of Aedh when at the point to die.

XXXII. Of the boy whom he brought to life when dead, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the country of the Picts.

XXXIII. Of his contention against the Druid Broichan on account of the detaining of a maid-servant; and of a stone which the Saint blessed, and which in water floated on the surface like an apple.

CHAP.
XXXIV. Of the opposition of the blessed man against the Druid Broichan, and the contrariety of the wind.
XXXV. Of the sudden opening of the gate of the royal fortress of its own accord.
XXXVI. Of a similar unclosing of the church of the Field of Two Rivers.
XXXVII. Of another poor man, an indigent peasant, for whom the Saint made and blessed a stake for the killing of wild beasts.
XXXVIII. Of a milk-bag, which the tide of the sea carried away and brought back to land.
XXXIX. A prophecy of the holy man regarding Libran of the Reed-ground.
XL. Of a certain poor woman who suffered great and very difficult pains of child-birth, and was cured.
XLI. Of the wife of Lugne, a pilot, who was disliked by her.
XLII. A prophecy of St. Columba about Cormac Ua Liathain, and his voyages.
XLIII. Of the journey of the venerable man in a car, without the security of the car's linch-pins.
XLIV. Of rain poured out over the thirsting land after some months of drought, the Lord granting it for the honour of the blessed man.
XLV. The miracle which we now begin, with God's help, to describe, wrought in our time, we have seen with our own eyes:
Of contrary gales of wind changed into favourable breezes by the power of the prayers of the venerable man.
XLVI. Of the plague.

HERE END THE HEADINGS OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE SECOND BOOK,

OF MIRACLES OF POWER.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE WINE THAT WAS MADE OUT OF WATER.

At another time, when the venerable man was staying in Scotia (Ireland) with St. Findbar (Finnian) the bishop, while he was yet a youth, learning the wisdom of Holy Scripture, on a certain solemn day the wine for the sacrificial mystery, by some chance, was not found. And when he heard the ministers of the altar complaining among themselves of the want of it, he, as deacon, takes a pitcher and goes to the spring, to draw spring water for the ministrations of the Holy Eucharist, for in those days he was ministering in the order of the diaconate. And so the blessed man in faith blessed the watery element which he drew from the spring, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who in Cana of Galilee turned water into wine, who also working in this miracle, the inferior, that is, the watery nature, was by the hands of the famous man converted into the more agreeable species, that namely of wine. And so the holy man, returning from the spring and entering the church, places by the altar the pitcher having within it such liquid; and says to the

ministers, 'Ye have wine, which the Lord Jesus has sent for the execution of His mysteries.' When they understood this, the holy bishop with the ministers together give great thanks to God. But the holy youth ascribed this not to himself, but to the holy bishop Vinnian (Finnian). And so Christ the Lord manifested this first proof of power by His disciple, which He wrought by Himself in the same case, placing it as the beginning of miracles in Cana of Galilee.

Let the beginning, I say, of this little book, as if it were some lamp, make it clear that a Divine miracle was manifested through our Columba; that we may next pass on to other miracles of power which were shown through him.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ROUGH-FLAVOURED FRUIT OF A CERTAIN TREE WHICH WAS TURNED INTO SWEETNESS BY THE BLESSING OF THE SAINT.

THERE was a certain tree very full of apples near the monastery of Oakwood Plain (Derry), in the southern part of it, and when the inhabitants of the place made some complaint about the excessively rough flavour of the fruit, one day in the autumn season the Saint went up to it, and seeing that the tree in vain bore abundant fruits which afflicted rather than delighted those who tasted any of them, raises his holy hand and blesses it, saying, 'In the name of Almighty God let all thy roughness, O rough-tasting tree, depart from thee, and let thine apples, up to this time most roughly flavoured, be turned into the very sweetest.' Wonderful to say, and sooner than said, in the same moment, all the apples of that tree lost their roughness of flavour, and, according to the word of the Saint, were turned to a wondrous sweetness.

CHAPTER III.

OF A CORN-FIELD SOWN AFTER THE MIDDLE TIME OF SUMMER, AND REAPED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE MONTH OF AUGUST, AT THE PRAYER OF THE SAINT WHEN HE LIVED IN THE IOUAN ISLAND (IONA).

At another time the Saint sent his monks to bring faggots from the field of a certain peasant, for the construction of a hospice. And when they came back to the Saint with their transport ship filled with the aforesaid cargo of twigs, and said that the peasant was very much distressed indeed on account of the loss of them, the Saint at once gives directions and says, 'Then lest we should put a stumbling-block in that man's way, let there be taken to him from us twice three (pecks) of barley, and let him sow it at once in his ploughed land. And when, according to the bidding of the Saint, it was sent to the peasant, Findchan by name, and set before him with such a commendation, he thankfully accepts it, but says, 'How can a field do any good if sown after midsummer, contrary to the nature of this land?' His wife, on the other hand, says, 'Do according to the command of the Saint, to whom the Lord will grant whatsoever he may ask of Him.' But they that were sent added this also at the same time, saying, 'St. Columba, who hath sent us to thee with this present, entrusted also this instruction through us about thy field, saying, "Let that man trust in the omnipotence of God: his field, although sown after twelve days of the month of June have passed, will be reaped in the beginning of the month of August."' The peasant obeys, both ploughing and sowing, and the harvest which he sowed against hope at the aforesaid time, he got in ripe in the beginning of the month of August, to the great admiration of all the neighbours, according to the word of the Saint, in the portion of land which is called Delcros (not identified).

CHAPTER IV.

OF A PESTIFEROUS CLOUD, AND THE HEALING OF MANY.

At another time, while the Saint was living in the Iouan island (Iona), sitting on the hill called in Latin Munitio Magna (Dun-bhuirg?), he sees in the north a dense and watery cloud arising from the sea on a clear day; which being seen as it rose, the Saint says to one of his monks, who was sitting beside him, Silnan by name, son of Nemandon Mocusogin. 'This cloud will be very baleful to men and cattle, and after rapidly flying this day over a great part of Scotia (Ireland), that is, from the river called Ailbine (Delvin) as far as the ford Clied (Ath Cliath, now Dublin), will in the evening rain down a pestiferous shower, which will cause grievous and purulent ulcers to be formed on the bodies of men and on the teats of cattle, from which the diseased men and cattle will suffer, being afflicted by that poisonous disease even unto death. But we ought to have compassion upon them and relieve their suffering, the Lord being merciful. Do thou therefore, Silnan, now go down with me from the hill, prepare to sail to-morrow, if we live and God will, with bread received from me and blessed by the invocation of the Name of God, which being put in water, men, and cattle also, sprinkled with that, will speedily recover their health.' Why do we linger over it? On the morrow Silnan quickly got ready whatever things were necessary, received from the hand of the Saint the blessed bread, and sailed forth in peace. And as he is departing from him in that same hour, the Saint adds this word of consolation, saying, 'Be assured, my son, thou wilt have favourable and prosperous winds day and night, until thou comest to that region which is called Ard Ceannachte (in Meath), that there thou mayest quickly relieve the sick with the healing bread.' Why say more? Silnan obeyed the word of the Saint, and, with the Lord's help, arriving by a prosperous and speedy

voyage to the above-mentioned part of that district, found the people of whom the Saint had foretold, devastated by the pestiferous shower of the aforesaid cloud, that so quickly rushed on before him, raining upon them. And, in the first place, twice three men, in the same house near the sea, being found placed in the last extremity with death at hand, being sprinkled by the same Silnan with the water of benediction, in the self-same day were opportunely healed. The rumour of this rapid cure being quickly carried about through all the district wasted by that very pestilential disease, summoned all the people who were diseased to the messenger of St. Columba; who, according to the command of the Saint, sprinkled men and cattle with water containing blessed bread; and the men, at once recovering perfect health, preserved together with their cattle, praised Christ in St. Columba with high thanksgiving. And so, in this narrative above recorded, these two things, as I think, are manifestly associated in equal measure, namely, the grace of prophecy concerning the cloud, and the miracle of power in the healing of the sick. That these things are in all respects most true, the above-mentioned Silnan, soldier of Christ and messenger of St. Columba, witnessed before Seghine the abbot and other aged men.

CHAPTER V.

OF MAUGINA DAUGHTER OF DAIMEN, A HOLY VIRGIN, WHO HAD DWELT IN CLOCHER (CLOGHER) OF THE SONS OF DAIMEN.

At another time the Saint, while he was living in the Iouan island (Iona), at the first hour of the day calls to him a certain brother, Lugaid by name, whose surname in Scotic (Irish) is Lathir, and thus addresses him, saying, 'Make ready quickly for a hasty voyage to Scotia (Ireland), for it is very necessary for me to send thee as a messenger to Clocher of the sons of Daimen (Clogher). For in this last night Maugina, a holy virgin, a daughter of Daimen,

returning home from the oratory after mass (evensong), by some chance has taken a false step, and her hip is broken in twain. This woman in her cries is often calling my name to remembrance, hoping that through me she will receive comfort from the Lord.' Why more? As Lugaid is obeying, and straightway setting out, the Saint hands to him a little box of pine-wood containing a blessed gift, saying, 'Let the blessed gift contained in this little box, when thou comest to visit Maugina, be put into a vessel of water, and let the same water of blessing be poured over her hip; and immediately, on calling upon the name of God, the hip-bone will be joined and united, and the holy virgin will recover perfect health.' And the Saint adds these words: 'Behold! I do now in person write in the cover of this box the number of twenty-three years, during which the holy virgin is to live in this present life after the same cure.' All which things were thus completely fulfilled, as predicted by the Saint; for, as soon as Lugaid came to the holy virgin, and her hip was bathed, as the Saint recommended, with the blessed water, the bone was united without any, even the least, delay, and she was completely cured; and, rejoicing in the coming of the messenger of St. Columba with great thanksgiving, lived, according to the prophecy of the Saint, for twenty-three years after her cure, continuing in good works.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CURES OF DIVERS DISEASES, WHICH WERE PERFORMED IN DRUM CEATT.

THE man of illustrious life, as has been related to us by persons of experience, healed the sicknesses of divers persons by calling on the name of Christ, in those days when he went to the conference of kings in Drum Ceatt, and abode there for a short season. For many sick persons, either by the stretching forth of his holy hand, or being sprinkled with

water blessed by him, or even by the touch of the border of his garment, or of anything, salt for instance, or bread that had received his benediction and been put in water, believing, recovered perfect health.

CHAPTER VII.

OF A PIECE OF ROCK-SALT BLESSED BY THE SAINT, WHICH THE FIRE COULD NOT CONSUME.

At another time, Colga the son of Cellach received from the Saint a piece of rock-salt that had been blessed, and for which he had asked, for the benefit of his sister who had brought him up, and who was suffering from a very severe attack of inflamed eyes. The same sister and nurse, taking such a blessed gift from the hand of her brother, hung it up on the wall over the bed; and by chance it happened after some days that the same village, with the cottage of the above-mentioned woman, was wholly burnt up by the devastating flame. Wonderful to say, a small part of that wall, lest the blessed man's blessed gift that was hung on it should perish, remained standing unhurt after the whole of the house was burnt, nor did the fire dare to touch the two stakes on which was hanging the piece of rock-salt.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF A BOOK-LEAF WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF THE SAINT, WHICH COULD NOT BE INJURED BY WATER.

Another miracle, which was at one time wrought by means of the opposite element, should not, I think, be passed over in silence. For, when the courses of many years had rolled by after the passing to the Lord of the blessed man, a certain youth fell from his horse in the river which is called in Scotic (Irish) Boend (Boyne) and sank and died, and re-

mained under the water for twenty days; he, as he had books enclosed in a leathern satchel under his armpit, and thus falling, was also found so, after the above-mentioned number of days, holding between his arm and his side the satchel with the books; and when his dead body was brought to the dry ground, and the satchel opened, a leaf written by the holy fingers of St. Columba was found dry and in no wise corrupted, as if it had been kept in a casket, among the leaves of other books that were not only corrupted but even putrefied.

CHAPTER IX.

OF ANOTHER MIRACLE WROUGHT IN A LIKE CASE.

At another time, a book of hymns for the week written by St. Columba's own hand, together with the leathern satchel in which it was contained, fell from the shoulders of a certain boy who slipped off a bridge and was drowned in a certain river of the province of Leinster. Which little book, remaining in the water from the Nativity of Our Lord to the end of Easter week, and afterwards found on the bank of the river by some women who were walking there, is carried in the same satchel, which was not only wet but putrefied, to one Iogenan, a presbyter, and a Pict by nation, to whom it had previously belonged. And when the same Iogenan opened the satchel, he found his little book uncorrupted, and as clean and dry as if it had remained all that time in a case, and had never fallen into the water. But we have learned without doubt from men of experience that other like things occurred with respect to books written by the hand of St. Columba, which books, be it known, being immersed in water, could in no way be corrupted. But concerning the above-mentioned genuine book of Iogenan, we have received the account without any uncertainty from certain truthful, excellent, and trustworthy men, who have examined the same little book, which, after

so many days of submersion as are above stated, was most white and clear.

These two miracles, although wrought in matters of small moment, and manifested through contrary elements, namely, fire and water, bear witness to the honour of the blessed man, and of how great and of what manner of merit he was accounted in the sight of the Lord.

CHAPTER X.

OF WATER WHICH WAS BROUGHT FORTH FROM THE HARD ROCK AT THE PRAYER OF THE SAINT.

And now, seeing that mention has been made a little above of the element of water, we ought not to be silent as to other miracles also which the Lord wrought, although at different times and places, in the case of the same created thing. For on another occasion, while the Saint is engaged in travelling, as he goes on his way, an infant is presented to him by its parents to be baptized; and because no water was found in the places close at hand, the Saint, turning aside to the nearest rock, prayed for a little while on bended knees, and, rising from his prayer, blessed the face of that same rock, from which thereupon water flowed, gushing out abundantly, in which he at once baptized the infant. Concerning whom also, when he had been baptized, he prophesied and spoke these words, saying, 'This long-lived little boy will live even to extreme old age; in his youthful years he will sufficiently serve the desires of the flesh, and in the next place will be devoted to the Christian warfare even to his life's end, and will pass away to the Lord in a good old age.' All which things happened to the same man according to the prediction of the Saint. This was Lugucencalad, whose parents were in Artdaib Muirchol (Ardnamurchan), where is seen at the present day a well, potent in the name of St. Columba.

CHAPTER XI.

OF OTHER SPRING WATER OF MALIGNANT QUALITY, BLESSED BY THE BLESSED MAN IN THE COUNTRY OF THE PICTS.

At another time, the blessed man, while he was sojourning in the province of the Picts for some days, heard among the heathen people that a report was spread abroad concerning another spring, which senseless men, the devil blinding their understandings, worshipped as a god. For those who drank of the same spring, or purposely washed their hands or feet in it, being by God's permission smitten by demoniacal artifice, returned either leprous, or purblind, or certainly weak, or attacked by some other maladies, on account of all which things the heathen men were led astray, and rendered divine honour to the spring. On finding that these things were so, the Saint one day went boldly up to the spring, at the sight of which the Druids, whom he himself had often sent away confounded and vanquished by him, greatly rejoiced, thinking indeed that he would suffer similar things from the touch of that noxious water. But he, first lifting up his holy hand, with invocation of the Name of Christ, washes his hands and feet, and then, together with his companions, drinks of the same water that had been blessed by him. And from that day the demons departed from that spring; and not only was it not permitted to injure any one, but even, after the blessing of the Saint and his washing therein, many diseases among the people were healed by the same spring.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE DANGER OF THE BLESSED MAN ON THE SEA, AND OF THE SUDDEN CALMING OF THE STORM WHEN HE PRAYED.

At another time, the holy man began to be in peril by the sea, for the entire hull of the ship was heavily struck, and

violently dashed about on the huge mountains of the waves, while a great tempest of winds bore upon them on every side. Then by chance the sailors say to the Saint as he is endeavouring with them to empty the bilge-hole, 'What thou now doest doth not greatly profit us in our danger; thou shouldest rather pray for us now that we are perishing.' On hearing which, he ceases to empty out the bitter water, the green sea-wave, but begins to pour out sweet and earnest prayer to the Lord. Wondrous to say, in the same moment of time in which the Saint, standing at the prow with his hands stretched out to heaven, besought the Almighty, the whole storm of wind and the raging of the sea, being stilled more quickly than can be said, ceased, and at once there followed a most tranquil calm. But they who were in the ship were amazed, and, rendering thanks with great wonder, glorified the Lord in the holy and famous man.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF ANOTHER SIMILAR PERIL TO HIM BY THE SEA.

At another time again, when a cruel and dangerous tempest was pressing heavily on them, and his companions were crying out for the Saint to beseech the Lord for them, he gave them this answer, saying, 'On this day it is not my lot to pray for you who are placed in this danger, but it is that of the abbot Cainnech, a holy man.' I am going to relate wonderful things. At that same hour St. Cainnech, living in his monastery, which in Latin is called Campulus Bovis, but in Scotic (Irish) Ached-bou (Aghaboe), the Holy Spirit revealing it to him, heard with the inward ear of his heart the above-mentioned saying of St. Columba; and when by chance he had begun after the ninth hour to break the holy-bread in the refectory, he quickly leaves the table, and, with one shoe clinging to his foot, while in his great haste the other was left behind, he hurriedly makes his way to

the church, saying as he goes, 'It is not for us to dine now, at a time when the ship of St. Columba is in peril by the sea. For even now is he frequently calling on the name of this Cainnech, that he may pray Christ for him and his companions in peril.' Entering the oratory after these his words, he prayed for a little while on bended knees, and, the Lord hearing his prayer, the tempest straightway ceased, and the sea became very tranquil. Then in the next place, St. Columba, seeing in spirit Cainnech's hastening to the church, although he was living so far away, wonderfully utters this sentence from his pure breast, saying, 'Now I know, O Cainnech, that God hath heard thy prayer, now doth thy rapid race to the church with one shoe greatly profit us.' In such a miracle as this, the prayer of both holy men, as we believe, had a joint effect.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE STAFF OF SAINT CAINNECH, FORGOTTEN AT THE HARBOUR.

At another time, the same Cainnech who is mentioned above, when beginning to sail from the harbour of the Iouan island (Iona) to Scotia (Ireland), forgot to take his staff with him; which staff of his, indeed, being found on the shore after his departure, was put into the hand of St. Columba, and which, on his return home, he carries into the oratory, and there he remains some time alone in prayer. Cainnech then approaching the Oidechan island (Islay?), suddenly pricked to the heart for his forgetfulness, was inwardly cast down. But after some little time he got down from the ship, and, kneeling down in prayer on the land, found in front of him, upon the turf of the little land of Aithche, the staff which he had forgotten and left behind him at the harbour of the Iouan island. At its being thus carried out for him by the agency of Divine power, he greatly marvelled, with giving of thanks in God (*in Deo*).

CHAPTER XV.

OF BAITHENE AND COLUMBAN SON OF BEOGNA, HOLY PRESBYTERS, WHO ASK THAT ON THE SAME DAY A FAVOURABLE WIND MAY BE GRANTED THEM BY THE LORD THROUGH THE PRAYER OF THE BLESSED MAN, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE SAILING DIFFERENT WAYS.

At another time again, the above-mentioned holy men coming to the Saint, with one consent ask of him at the same time, that he will ask and obtain from the Lord, that on the following day a favourable wind may be given to them, though they are outward bound in different directions. To whom the Saint answered and gave this reply: 'To-morrow morning Baithene, sailing out of the harbour of the Iouan island (Iona), will have a favourable breeze until he come to the harbour of the Plain of Lunge' (in Tiree). Which the Lord so granted, according to the word of the Saint, for the same day Baithene crossed with full sails the whole of the great sea even to the Ethican land (Tiree). But at the third hour of the same day the venerable man calls the presbyter Columban to him, saying, 'Now hath Baithene happily arrived at the desired haven: prepare thyself to sail to-day; soon will the Lord change the wind into the north.' At the same hour the south wind, obeying the word of the blessed man thus spoken, veers round into a northern breeze; and so on the same day each holy man, turning away the one from the other in peace, went out with full sails and favouring breezes; Baithene in the morning to the Ethican land, Columban in the afternoon beginning to make for Ireland. This miracle was effected, the Lord granting it, by the power of the prayers of the illustrious man, for, as it is written, 'All things are possible to him that believeth.' After the departure of St. Columban on that day, St. Columba uttered this prophetic saying concerning him: 'The holy man Columban, whom we blessed as he went out, will

nowhere see my face in this world.' Which was thus fulfilled afterwards, for in the same year St. Columba passed away to the Lord.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE DRIVING AWAY OF A DEMON THAT LURKED IN A MILK-PAIL.

At another time a certain youth, Columban by name, of the race of Briun, suddenly came and stood at the door of the cell in which the blessed man was writing. This same youth, having returned from milking the cows, and carrying on his back the pail full of new milk, speaks to the Saint, that, according to custom, he may bless such a load. The Saint, being at some distance opposite to him, raised his hand, and formed the saving sign in the air, which then and there was greatly agitated, and the bar of the lid, driven through its two holes, was shot away to some distance; the lid fell to the ground, and most of the milk was spilled on the soil. The young lad then sets down the vessel on its bottom on the ground, with what little of the milk there was left, and kneels as a suppliant. To whom the Saint says, 'Arise, Columban! Thou hast done carelessly in thy work to-day: for thou hast not cast out the demon that was lurking in the bottom of the empty pail, by tracing on it, before pouring in the milk, the sign of the Lord's cross; and now not enduring, thou seest, the virtue of that sign, he has quickly fled away in terror, while at the same time the whole of the vessel has been violently shaken, and the milk spilled. Bring then the pail nearer to me, that I may bless it.' Which being done, the half-empty vessel that the Saint had blessed, was in the same moment found to be filled by Divine power, and what little had before remained in the bottom of the vessel, quickly rose up to the top under the benediction of his holy hand.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF A PAIL WHICH A CERTAIN SORCERER NAMED SILNAN HAD FILLED WITH MILK TAKEN FROM A BULL.

This is handed down as having been done in the house of a certain rich peasant, Foirtgirn by name, who was living in Mount Cainle (not identified). While the Saint was being lodged there, he judged with righteous judgement between two contending rustics, whose coming he knew beforehand, and one of them, a sorcerer, being bidden by the Saint, by his diabolical art took milk from a bull which was near at hand; which thing the Saint directed to be done, not to encourage those sorceries, far from it, but to destroy them in the presence of the multitude. The blessed man therefore asked that the vessel, full, as it seemed to be, of such milk, might be at once given to him, and with this sentence he blessed it, saying, 'Now it shall be proved that this, which is supposed to be true milk, is not so, but is blood deprived of its colour by the fraud of demons to deceive men;' and straightway that milky colour was turned into its own proper quality, that is, into blood. The bull also, which for the space of one hour was at death's door, wasting and worn by a horrible emaciation, on being sprinkled with water blessed by the Saint, was cured with wonderful rapidity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF LUGNE MOCUMIN.

One day, a certain youth of good disposition, Lugne by name, who afterwards when an old man was prior in the monastery of Elena island (one of the Garvelochs, or else Naomh, near Islay?), comes to the Saint, and complains of a flow of blood, which for many months was frequently issuing profusely from his nostrils. The Saint called him to come nearer, and blessed him, compressing both his nostrils with two fingers of his right hand. And from that hour of blessing, even to his dying day, blood never dropped from his nose.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF FISHES SPECIALLY PREPARED BY GOD FOR THE BLESSED MAN.

At another time, when some companions of the famous man, keen fishermen, had taken five fishes in a net in the fishful river Sale (Blackwater in Meath?), the Saint says to them, 'Cast your net a second time into the river, and immediately you will find a great fish, which the Lord hath prepared for me.' They, obeying the word of the Saint, drew forth in the net a salmon of wondrous size prepared for him by God. At another time again, while the Saint was staying for some days near Lough Ce (Key), he stopped his companions when they wanted to go a-fishing, saying, 'To-day and to-morrow not a fish will be found in the river; I will send you on the third day, and you will find two great river salmon caught in the net.' And so they, after two days, casting the net, drew to the land two, of most unusual size, which they found in the river called Bo (Boyle). In these two fishings that have been mentioned, the power of miracle appears, together with prophetic foreknowledge accompanying it; for which things the Saint and his companions rendered special thanks to God.

CHAPTER XX.

OF NESAN THE HUNCHBACK, WHO LIVED IN THE COUNTRY BORDERING ON THE LAKE APORUM (LOCHABER).

This Nesan, when he was very poor, joyfully received the holy man on one occasion as his guest. And when he had entertained him hospitably, according to his means, for the space of one night, the Saint inquires of him how many little cows he had; he says, 'Five.' The Saint thereupon says, 'Bring them to me that I may bless them.' And when they were brought to him, and blessed with the lifting up of his holy hand, the Saint says, 'From this day thy few

little cows, only five, shall increase even to the number of one hundred and five cows.' And because the same Nesan was a peasant man, with a wife and children, the blessed man conferred on him also this increase of benediction, saying, 'Thy seed shall be blessed in children and in grandchildren.' All which things were completely fulfilled, according to the word of the Saint, without any diminution.

[*Added in MS.* B. Of a certain rich but most grasping man named Uigene, who had despised St. Columba, and not received him as a guest, he uttered on the contrary this prophetic sentence, saying, 'But the riches of that avaricious man, who has spurned Christ in stranger guests, from this day shall be gradually diminished, and be reduced to nothing; and he himself will be a beggar, and his son will run about from house to house with a half-empty bag, and, struck with an axe by some rival in the pit of a threshing-floor, he will die.' All which things, according to the prophecy of the holy man, were completely fulfilled with respect both to the one and to the other.]

CHAPTER XXI.

OF COLUMBAN, A MAN OF EQUALLY HUMBLE CONDITION, WHOSE CATTLE THE HOLY MAN BLESSED WHILE VERY FEW IN NUMBER, BUT WHICH AFTER HIS BENEDICTION INCREASED EVEN TO THE NUMBER OF ONE HUNDRED.

At another time again, the blessed man on a certain night was well lodged with the above-mentioned Columban, at that time a poor man, and, first thing in the morning, the Saint, as has been mentioned above in the case of Nesan, questions his peasant host as to the quantity and quality of his substance. Who on being questioned says, 'I have only five little cows, but they will increase to more if thou wilt bless them.' There and then, at the bidding of the Saint, he brought them to him, and in like manner, as has been said above of the five little cows of Nesan, he gives an equal bless-

ing to the five little cows of this Columban, and says, 'One hundred and five cows, by the gift of God, shalt thou have, and in thy children and in thy posterity shall be a beautiful benediction.' All which things were most abundantly fulfilled, according to the prophecy of the blessed man, in his fields, in his cattle, and in his offspring; and in a wonderful manner the number assigned beforehand by the Saint to the two men above mentioned, when fulfilled in the number of one hundred and five cows, could in no wise be added to; for whatever exceeded the number as limited above, being carried off by divers accidents, were nowhere forthcoming, except what could be employed for the particular uses of the family, or else for the purpose of almsgiving. And so in this narrative, as in others, a miracle of power is openly showed together with prophecy: for in the great increase of the cows appears equally the virtue of benediction and of prayer, and, in the previous limitation of the number, prophetic foreknowledge.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE DEATH OF EVIL-DOERS WHO HAD DESPISED THE SAINT.

THE venerable man greatly loved the above-mentioned Columban, whom the virtue of his benediction made rich from having been a poor man, because he rendered to him many offices of kindness. Now there was at that time a certain man, an evil-doer, a persecutor of good men, named Ioan son of Conall son of Domhnall, sprung of the royal race of Gabhran. This man persecuted the above-mentioned Columban, the friend of St. Columba, and laid waste his homestead, carrying off everything that could be found therein, acting in this hostile fashion not once only, but twice. Whence by chance it happened, and not undeservedly, to that evil-natured man, that on a third occasion, after a third harrying of that same homestead, while returning laden with spoil to the ship, together with his comrades, he had, straight before

him, drawing nearer to him, the blessed man whom he had, as it were, despised at a distance. And when the Saint reproved him for his evil deeds, and would persuade him, begging him to lay down the spoil, he, remaining savage and not to be persuaded, despised the Saint, and getting on board the ship with the spoil, scoffed at the blessed man, and laughed him to scorn. But the Saint followed him even to the sea, and walking into the glassy sea-waters up to the knees, with both hands lifted up to heaven he earnestly prays to Christ, who glorifies His chosen ones that glorify Him. Now that harbour, in which he stood and prayed to the Lord for some little while after the persecutor had sailed out, is in the place which in Scotic (Irish) is called Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol (Camus-an-Gaal, Ardnamurchan). Then in the next place the Saint, when he had finished his prayer and returned to the dry land, sits down in a more elevated place with his companions, to whom in that hour he utters these very terrible words, saying, 'This wretched creature, who hath despised Christ in His servants, will never return to the harbour from which he hath lately gone out in your presence; but neither will he arrive with his companions in evil-doing at other lands which he seeks, being prevented by sudden death. To-day will the fierce storm, which you will soon see arising out of a cloud on the north, be hurled against and drown him with his companions, nor will even one of them remain to tell the tale.' After waiting a very little while, on a most calm day, behold then the cloud rising from the sea, as the Saint had said, sent forth with mighty crash of wind, finding the robber with his spoil between the Malean and Colosan islands (Mull and Colonsay), drowned him in the midst of the sea so suddenly lashed into fury; nor, according to the word of the Saint, did even one of those who had been in the ship escape; and in a wonderful manner, while on every side the whole of the sea remained calm, did such a single storm cast down to hell the robbers that were drowned miserably indeed, but deservedly.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF ONE FERADACH, WHO WAS CARRIED OFF BY SUDDEN DEATH.

At another time again, the holy man specially commended a certain exile of a noble family of the Picts, Tarain by name, committing him into the hand of one Feradach, a rich man, who dwelt in the Ilean island (Islay), to live for some months in his retinue, as one of his friends. Whom when he had received, commended with such a commendation, from the hand of the holy man, after a few days, acting treacherously, he put to death by a cruel order. When this horrible wickedness was announced by some travellers to the Saint, he answered and spoke thus: 'That wretched creature, whose name will be blotted out of the book of life, hath not lied unto me, but unto God. These words we now speak in the middle of the summer season, but in the autumn, before he shall taste of swine's flesh fattened on the produce of trees, he will be carried off to the infernal regions, overtaken by sudden death.' This was the prophecy of the holy man; when he told it to the wretched creature, he despised and derided the Saint; and after some days of the autumn months, a sow fattened on the kernels of nuts is killed by his direction, other swine of the same man not yet being killed; he orders that the entrails be immediately taken out, and that a portion be quickly roasted for him on the spit, so impatient is the man to taste of it, and upset the prophecy of the blessed man. Which then being roasted, he asked for some small portion of a mouthful to be given him to taste, but before he could raise to his mouth the hand put forth to take it, he expired, and fell down dead on his back. Both they that saw and they that heard, greatly terrified and wondering, honoured and glorified Christ in His holy prophet.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF A CERTAIN OTHER IMPIOUS MAN, A PERSECUTOR OF THE CHURCHES, WHOSE NAME IS CALLED IN LATIN MANUS DEXTERA.

At another time the blessed man, while staying in Hinba island (Eilean-na-Naoimh?), when he began to excommunicate some other persecutors of churches, namely, the sons of Conall son of Domhnall, one of whom was Ioan, of whom we have made mention above (p. 73), one of their companions in crime, by the instigation of the devil, rushed on with a spear to kill the Saint. To prevent which, one of the brethren, Findlugan by name, being ready to die for the holy man, came between, clad in his cowl. But in a wonderful manner such a garment of the blessed man, like some very strong and impenetrable armour, could not be pierced by the hard thrust of a very sharp spear by a man however strong, but remained unhurt, and he who was clothed in it was untouched and uninjured, protected by such a safeguard. But that accursed man, who was named Manus Dextera (Lamh-dess, right hand), went back, supposing that he had transfixed the holy man with his spear. A whole year afterwards from that day, when the Saint was living in the Iouan island (Iona), he says, 'Up to this day it is a full year from the day on which Lamh-dess, so far as he could, killed Findlugan in my place; but he himself, as I think, is being slain in this hour.' Which, according to the revelation of the Saint, came to pass at the same moment in that island which may be called in Latin Longa (Luing), where Lamh-dess, himself alone, fell in some faction-fight between two parties, transfixed by the javelin of Cronan son of Baithene, hurled, as is reported, in the name of St. Columba; and after his death the men ceased to fight.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ANOTHER WHO WAS A PERSECUTOR OF INNOCENTS IN LIKE MANNER.

When the blessed man, as yet a young deacon, was living in the district of the Lagenians (Leinster) learning Divine wisdom, it happened one day that a certain man, a fierce, cruel persecutor of innocent persons, pursued a certain young girl as she fled on the level surface of the field. And when by chance she saw the old man Gemman, the tutor of the above-mentioned young deacon, reading in the field, she fled to him in a direct course, with all the speed she could. And he, alarmed by this sudden occurrence, calls to him Columba, who is reading at a distance, that both of them, to the best of their power, may defend the girl from her pursuer. But he, immediately coming up, and showing no reverence to them, stabbed the girl under their cloaks with a lance, and, leaving her dead body lying over their feet, turned and began to go away. Then the old man, greatly distressed, turns to Columba and says, 'For how great length of time, O holy youth Columba, will God, the just judge, suffer this crime, with the dishonour to us, to be unavenged?' Then the Saint fitly pronounced this sentence upon the evil-doer himself, saying, 'In the same hour in which the soul of the girl slain by him ascends into the heavens, the soul of the murderer himself shall go down into hell.' And, sooner than can be said, with a word, like Ananias before Peter, so also that slaughterer of innocents, before the eyes of the holy youth, fell dead on that same spot of ground. The rumour of which sudden and dreadful vengeance was at once spread abroad through many districts of Scotia (Ireland), together with the wonderful fame of the holy deacon.

It may suffice to have spoken thus far of the terrible vengeances that fell on his adversaries. Now we will relate some few things concerning beasts.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF A BOAR DESTROYED THROUGH HIS PRAYER.

ANOTHER time, while the blessed man was staying some days in the Scian island (Skye), being alone, separated from the brethren a little further than usual in order to pray, he entered a thick wood and met a boar of wondrous size, which some hunting-hounds happened to be pursuing. And seeing him at a distance, the Saint stood still and looked at him. Then in the next place, calling on the Name of God, and raising his holy hand with earnest prayer, he says to him, 'Think not to come further this way; in the place to which thou hast now come, die!' And when this word of the Saint sounded through the woods, not only was that terrible wild beast unable to approach further, but quickly fell before his very face, struck dead by the power of his word.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE DRIVING AWAY OF A CERTAIN WATER MONSTER BY THE VIRTUE OF THE PRAYER OF THE BLESSED MAN.

AT another time again, when the blessed man was staying for some days in the province of the Picts, he found it necessary to cross the river Ness; and, when he came to the bank thereof, he sees some of the inhabitants burying a poor unfortunate little fellow, whom, as those who were burying him themselves reported, some water monster had a little before snatched at as he was swimming, and bitten with a most savage bite, and whose hapless corpse some men who came in a boat to give assistance, though too late, caught hold of by putting out hooks. The blessed man however, on hearing this, directs that some one of his companions shall swim out and bring to him the coble that is on the other bank, sailing it across. On hearing this

direction of the holy and famous man, Lugne Mocumin, obeying without delay, throws off all his clothes except his under-garment, and casts himself into the water. Now the monster, which before was not so much satiated as made eager for prey, was lying hid in the bottom of the river; but perceiving that the water above was disturbed by him who was crossing, suddenly emerged, and, swimming to the man as he was crossing in the middle of the stream, rushed up with a great roar and open mouth. Then the blessed man looked on, while all who were there, as well the heathen as even the brethren, were stricken with very great terror; and, with his holy hand raised on high, he formed the saving sign of the cross in the empty air, invoked the Name of God, and commanded the fierce monster, saying, 'Think not to go further, nor touch thou the man. Quick! go back!' Then the beast, on hearing this voice of the Saint, was terrified and fled backward more rapidly than he came, as if dragged by cords, although before it had come so near to Lugne as he swam, that there was not more than the length of one punt-pole between the man and the beast. Then the brethren, seeing that the beast had gone away, and that their comrade Lugne was returned to them safe and sound in the boat, glorified God in the blessed man, greatly marvelling. Moreover also the barbarous heathens who were there present, constrained by the greatness of that miracle, which they themselves had seen, magnified the God of the Christians.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE LAND OF THIS ISLAND, BLESSED BY THE SAINT SO THAT THENCEFORTH THE POISONS OF VIPERS SHOULD HURT NO MAN THEREIN.

One day of the same summer-time in which he departed to the Lord, the Saint goes, borne in a wagon, to visit

the brethren who were engaged in heavy work in the western plain of the Iouan island (Iona). After some consolatory addresses spoken to them by the Saint, he, standing on a more elevated spot, thus prophesies, saying, 'From this day, my sons, I know that you will never for the future be able to see my face again in the places on this plain.' And seeing them greatly saddened on hearing this saying, and endeavouring to console them as much as might be, he lifts up both his holy hands, and, blessing the whole of this our island, says, 'From this hour's space, the poisons of no vipers shall in any wise be able to hurt either men or cattle in the lands of this island, so long as the inhabitants of this same place of our sojourning observe the commands of Christ.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF A KNIFE BLESSED BY THE SAINT WITH THE SIGN OF THE LORD'S CROSS.

ANOTHER time, a brother named Molua, of the race of Briun, comes to the Saint, who at that same hour is writing, and says to him, 'Bless, I pray you, this knife which I have in my hand.' And he, stretching out his holy hand a little, blessed it, signing it with his pen, with his face turned to the book out of which he was writing. And as the above-mentioned brother was going away with the knife that had been blessed, the Saint asks, saying, 'What knife have I blessed for a brother?' Diormit, his dutiful attendant, says, 'Thou hast blessed the knife used for killing bulls or oxen.' And he in reply answers and says, 'I trust in my Lord that the knife which I have blessed shall hurt neither man nor cattle.' Which word of the Saint was proved in that same hour to be most sure. For the same brother, going outside the fence of the monastery, and wishing to cut the throat of an ox, though he made three strong efforts, and with hard pushing too, yet he could not

even pierce through the skin. The monks knowing this by experience, distributed the blade of the same knife by melting it in the heat of fire, and spreading it in a liquid state over all the iron instruments of the monastery; nor could they afterwards wound any flesh, the power of that benediction of the Saint abiding on them.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE HEALING OF DIORMIT WHEN SICK.

At another time, Diormit, the dutiful attendant of the Saint, was sick even unto death; the Saint came to visit him when placed in the last extremity; and, invoking the Name of Christ, standing at the bed of the sick man, and praying for him, said, 'Be Thou propitious unto me, I pray Thee, O my Lord, and take not away the soul of my dutiful attendant from the tabernacle of this flesh while I remain alive.' And having said this he remained silent for some little time. Then in the next place he utters this voice from his sacred mouth, saying. 'This my servant will not only not die this time, but will even live for many years after my decease.' And this his supplication was heard, for Diormit, immediately after the effectual prayer of the Saint, recovered perfect health, and also survived for many years after the departure of the Saint to the Lord.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE HEALING OF FINTAN SON OF AEDH WHEN AT THE POINT TO DIE.

At another time also, when the Saint was making a journey beyond the Dorsal Ridge of Britain (Drum-Alban), a certain youth, named Fintan, one of his companions, was distressed by sudden sickness, and brought almost to the last extremity, so his sorrowing comrades beseech the Saint

to pray for him. He at once, having compassion on them, spreads out holy hands to heaven with earnest prayer, blesses the sick person, and says, 'This boy for whom you are pleading will enjoy a long life; and, after the death of us all who are here present, will remain alive, to die in a good old age.' Which prophecy of the blessed man was completely fulfilled throughout, for the same youth, afterwards the founder of the monastery called Kailli-au-inde (not identified), ended this present life in a good old age.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF A BOY WHOM THE VENERABLE MAN BROUGHT TO LIFE WHEN DEAD, IN THE NAME OF CHRIST THE LORD.

During that time in which St. Columba was staying for some days in the province of the Picts, a certain countryman with his whole household, when the holy man preached, hearing the word of life through an interpreter, believed; and, believing, was baptized, the husband with the wife and children and household servants. And, after some little interval of a few days, one of the sons of the father of the family, attacked by severe sickness, was brought almost to the border-lines between death and life. And when the Druids saw him dying, they began to mock at the parents with many reproaches, and to exalt their own gods as if stronger, but to detract from the God of the Christians as if weaker. And when all these things were reported to the blessed man, he is stirred up with zeal for God, and goes with his companions to the house of his friend the countryman, where the parents were performing the mournful funeral rites of their child lately deceased. The Saint, seeing them greatly distressed, encourages them and addresses them in consolatory words, that they may in no wise doubt of Divine omnipotence. And then he asks, saying, 'In what room does the body of the dead boy lie?' The bereaved father then leads the Saint under his

saddened roof, and immediately, leaving the whole crowd shut away outside, he alone enters the sorrow-stricken dwelling, where there and then, on bended knees, copiously flooding his face with tears, he prays to Christ the Lord; and, rising after his kneeling, turns his eyes to the dead child, saying, 'In the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, come to life, and stand upon thy feet.' With this glorious word of the Saint the soul returned to the body, and he that was dead revived with open eyes, and the apostolic man took his hand, raised him up, and steadied him in a standing posture; goes out of the house, taking him with him, and presented him alive again to his parents. Then the shouting of the people is raised on high, their mourning is turned into joy, the God of the Christians is glorified. Let our Columba then have as his own this miracle of power in common with Elijah and Elisha the prophets, and a like share of honour with Peter and Paul and John the apostles, in the raising of the dead; and among both companies, those namely of the prophets and of the apostles, may the prophetic and apostolic man have an honourable and eternal place in the heavenly country with Christ, Who liveth and reigneth with the Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF BROICHAN THE DRUID, WHO WAS VISITED WITH SICKNESS FOR HIS DETENTION OF A MAIDSERVANT, AND CURED WHEN SHE WAS SET FREE.

About the same time the venerable man requested of Broichan the Druid that a certain Scotic (Irish) female slave might be set at liberty, for pity's sake; and when he, by reason of his very hard and obstinate disposition, detained her, the Saint speaks to him and addresses him in this manner: 'Know, Broichan, know, that if thou wilt not deliver to me this captive stranger, thou wilt

quickly die, even before I return from this province.' And, saying this in the presence of King Brude, he goes forth out of the royal dwelling, and comes to the river Ness, from which river he takes up a white stone, and says to his companions, 'Mark this white stone, by which the Lord will work many cures of the sick among this heathen people.' And having thus spoken, he next added a word, saying, 'Now is Broichan severely smitten, for an angel sent from heaven, heavily striking him, has shattered into many fragments the glass drinking-cup in his hand, from which he was drinking; and, moreover, has left him gasping feeble sighs, and nigh unto death. Let us wait a little in this place for two king's messengers, sent to us with all haste, that we may quickly assist the dying Broichan; now is Broichan terribly punished, ready to set the maiden free.' While the Saint is yet speaking these words, behold, as he predicted, there arrive two horsemen sent by the king, who declare all the things that have come to pass according to the prophecy of the Saint, in the case of Broichan, and in the fortress of the king, as to the breaking of the cup, the punishment of the Druid, and his being prepared to release the slave. And this, moreover, they added, saying, 'The king and his household have sent us to thee, that thou mayest assist his foster-father Broichan, who is at the point of death.' Having heard these words of the messengers, the Saint sends to the king two out of the number of his companions, with the stone blessed by himself, saying, 'If in the first place Broichan will promise to set the maiden free, then let this little stone be put in water, and so let him drink of it, and straightway he will recover his health; but if he refuses, and resists the setting free of the slave, he shall immediately die.' The two messengers, obeying the word of the Saint, come to the royal hall, declaring to the king the words of the venerable man. On these being intimated to the king and his foster-father Broichan,

they feared greatly, and the maidservant was set free in that same hour, and delivered to the messengers of the holy man. The stone is put in water, and in a wonderful manner, contrary to its nature, the pebble floats on the surface of the water like an apple or a nut, nor could the object blessed by the holy man be made to sink. Broichan, drinking from this floating stone, returned at once from approaching death, and recovered perfect health of body. So remarkable a stone, afterwards preserved among the king's treasures, in like manner put in water and swimming, effected, by the mercy of God, many cures of sicknesses among the people. Wonderful to relate, the same stone, though inquired for by these sick persons when their term of life had arrived, could never by any means be found. Thus also it was sought for on the day of the death of King Brude, yet it was not found in the same place where it had before been put away.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THE OPPOSITION OF THE BLESSED MAN AGAINST BROICHAN THE DRUID, AND THE CONTRARIETY OF THE WIND.

After the above-mentioned events had taken place, Broichan one day addresses himself to the holy man and says, 'Tell me, Columba, what time dost thou propose to sail out?' 'On the third day,' says the Saint, 'if God will and I live, we propose to begin our voyage.' Broichan says in reply, 'Thou wilt not be able, for I can make the wind contrary for thee, and bring over thee a thick darkness.' The Saint says, 'The Almighty power of God ruleth over all things, and in His Name all our movements are directed, Himself being our governor.' Why more? As he had proposed in his heart, so the Saint came on the aforesaid day to the long lake of the river Ness, accompanied by a great following. But the Druids then began to rejoice when they saw a thick darkness

come over, with a contrary wind and tempest. It is no marvel that, by God's permission, these things can sometimes be done by the artifice of demons, that even the winds and the seas are stirred up into a more stormy condition. For so at one time legions of demons met the holy bishop German in the midst of the sea, as he was sailing into Britain from the British Channel in the cause of human salvation, and stirred up storms that opposed their perils, covering the heaven and the day with the gloom of darkness. But at the prayer of German all these things ceased quicker than can be said; there came a calm, and the darkness was removed. Our Columba therefore, seeing the raging elements stirred against him, calls on Christ the Lord, and mounts the boat while the sailors are hesitating; he himself, with greater firmness, directs that the sail be hoisted up against the wind. Which being done, the whole multitude looking on, the craft flies along with amazing velocity, borne against adverse winds. And after no great space of time the contrary winds shift round to the help of the journey, and to the wonder of all. And so through all that day the boat of the blessed man was borne along by gentle and favourable breezes blowing, and landed at the desired haven. Let the reader therefore ponder well how great that venerable man was, and what manner of man, in whom Almighty God manifested His glorious Name in the sight of the heathen, by such miraculous powers as those above recorded.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF THE SUDDEN OPENING OF THE GATE OF THE ROYAL FORTRESS OF ITS OWN ACCORD.

At another time, that is, just when the Saint was weary after his journey to King Brude, it happened by chance that the same king, lifted up by the royal pomp of his fortress, and bearing himself proudly, would not

open the gates on the first arrival of the blessed man. As soon as the man of God knew it, he came with his companions to the folding-doors of the gateways, and, first making on them the sign of the Lord's cross, next he knocks, and lays his hand against the doors, which at once are opened of their own accord and with all speed, the bolts being driven back with great force. And as soon as they are open, the Saint next enters with his companions. On this being known, the king, with his council, in great alarm sets out from the house, and goes to meet the blessed man with all reverence, and very gently addresses him with conciliatory words. And from that day, and ever after, the same ruler held the holy and venerable man in very great honour, as was only right, all the remaining days of his life.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF A SIMILAR UNCLOSING OF THE CHURCH OF THE FIELD OF TWO RIVERS (TERRYGLASS, CO. TIPPERARY).

On another occasion again, the blessed man, staying for some days in Scotia (Ireland), went, on their invitation, to visit the brethren who were residing in the monastery of the Land of Two Rivers. But by some chance it so happened that, when he came to the church, the keys of the oratory could not be found. Now when the Saint heard the others inquiring among themselves about the locked doors and the keys not as yet found, he himself goes up to the door and says, 'The Lord is able to open His house for His servants without their keys.' With this saying, the bolts were then suddenly shot back with violent motion, and, the gate being open of its own accord, the Saint, amid the admiration of all, walks into the church before the rest, and, being hospitably received by the brethren, is venerated by all with great honour.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF A CERTAIN INDIGENT PEASANT FOR WHOM THE SAINT MADE A STAKE FOR KILLING WILD ANIMALS, AND BLESSED IT.

At another time, a certain very needy peasant came to the Saint, who was then living in the district which borders on the shores of the Aporic Lake (Lochaber). The blessed man, taking pity on this miserable person, who had not wherewith to feed his wife and children, gave him. when he begged, a certain alms, such as he could, and says, 'Poor fellow, take a stake from the neighbouring wood, and bring it to me quickly.' The miserable man obeyed, and, according to the direction of the Saint, brought the material, which the Saint took, and sharpened into a spear, and when he had brought it to a point with his own hand, he blessed it, and handed it to that poor man, and said, 'Carefully keep this spear, which, as I believe. will neither be able to hurt man nor any cattle, but only wild animals and also fishes; and so long as thou hast such a stake, there will never be wanting in thy house an abundant supply of deer's flesh.' The poor miserable mendicant on hearing this was greatly rejoiced, returned home, and fixed the spear in a secluded spot of the ground which wild animals frequented; and when the next night was past, first thing in the morning he goes in order to revisit the spear, and finds transfixed upon it a hart of wondrous size. Why more? No day could pass, so the tradition goes, in which he did not find that some hart or hind, or other animal, had fallen upon the spear fixed in the ground. And, his whole house being thus filled with venison, he sold to his neighbours what he had to spare: that which the guest-room of his own house could not take in. But yet the envy of the devil found out this miserable man, as it did Adam, through

his wife, who, not as a wise but as a foolish woman, thus spoke to her husband: 'Take the spear out of the ground; for if any men, or even cattle, die upon it, thou thyself and I also, with our children, shall either be slain or led captive.' To this the husband replies, 'It will not be so, for the holy man said to me as he blessed the stake, that it never would hurt men nor even cattle.' After these words the needy man, yielding to his wife, goes and takes the spear out of the ground, and senselessly put it in the house by the wall; soon his house-dog fell on it and died. And when the dog was gone, the wife again says, 'One of thy boys will fall on the stake and die.' On hearing her say this, he removes the spear from the wall and carries it back to the wood, and he fixed it among the thicker bushes, where, as he thought, it could be hit by no animal. But on his return the next day he found that a roe had fallen upon it and died. Removing it thence also, he fixed it in the river, which in Latin can be called Nigra Dea (not identified), hiding it under water near the bank, and revisiting it the next day, he found transfixed and retained on it a salmon of wondrous size, which, when he lifted it out of the river, he was scarcely able by himself to carry to the house, and, carrying the spear with him from the water at the same time, he fixed it outside in the upper part of the roof, and then a crow flew down and died on it, killed by the force of the swoop. Upon this the miserable man, misled by the counsel of his foolish wife, taking down the spear from the roof, took an axe, chopped it up into many little pieces, and cast them into the fire. And afterwards, having lost this effectual means of relieving his distress, he was again, as he deserved to be, reduced to beggary. This freedom from want, you see, depended on the stake so often mentioned above, which, so long as it was kept, could suffice for snares, and nets, and every kind of hunting and fishing, through the benediction of the blessed man. But when it was lost, the wretched

peasant, though he had been enriched by it for the time, could only when too late, with the whole of his little household, lament over it all the rest of his days.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE MILK-BAG WHICH THE EBBING TIDE CARRIED AWAY, AND THE FLOWING TIDE RESTORED IN THE PLACE WHERE IT WAS BEFORE.

At another time, the messenger of the blessed man, named Lugaid, surnamed Lathir, was at his command proposing to sail to Scotia (Ireland); and, finding among the sailing appliances of the Saint's ship a milk-bag that he was looking for, he put it to soak in the sea, piling some good-sized stones over it, and, coming to the Saint, told him what he had done with the bag. Who smilingly says, 'I think that the bag, which thou sayest thou hast put under the waves, will not go with thee to Ireland this time.' 'Why,' says he, 'shall I not be able to have it with me in the ship?' 'Another day,' says the Saint, 'thou wilt know what the event will prove.' And so Lugaid goes on the morning of the next day to bring back his bag from the sea; the ebbing tide had however carried it away during the night. And on its not being found, he returned in sadness to the Saint, threw himself on the ground on bended knees, and confessed his negligence. Then the Saint consoled him, saying, 'Brother, do not grieve over perishable things; the bag which the ebbing tide has taken away, the flowing tide will bring back to its own place after thy departure.' The same day, after Lugaid had set out from the Iouan island (Iona), the office of the ninth hour having been said, the Saint thus addresses those who are standing about, and says, 'Now let one of you go to the sea; the flowing tide has now brought back the bag about which Lugaid was

lamenting, and which the ebbing tide had carried away, and has put it back in the place whence it was removed.' On hearing this saying of the Saint, a certain active youth ran down to the water's edge, and, finding the bag, as the Saint had predicted, returned and brought it back, running in his excitement, greatly delighted, and laid it before the Saint, to the admiration of all who were there present.

In these two narratives above written, although in small matters, the stake, namely, and the bag, prophecy and a miracle of power, as has often been said, are perceived to accompany one another.

Now let us pass on to other matters.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A PROPHECY OF THE HOLY MAN REGARDING LIBRAN OF THE REED-GROUND.

At another time, while the holy man was living in the Iouan island (Iona), a certain countryman who had lately taken the clerical habit, sailing over from Scotia (Ireland), came to the island monastery of the blessed man. And one day, when the Saint found him sitting alone in the guest-house, and on his being first questioned by the Saint as to his country, his family, and the cause of his journey, he stated that he was born in the region of the Connachtae (Connaught), and had wearied himself by a long journey in order to wipe out his sins in a pilgrimage. And when the Saint, in order to make trial of the quality of his penitence, put before his eyes the hard and laborious monastic regulations, he at once makes answer to the Saint, and says, 'I am prepared to do all things whatsoever thou wilt bid me, however hard, however humiliating.' Why say more? That same hour he confessed all his sins, and promised, on his knees bent to the ground, that he would fulfil the penitential canons. The Saint says to him, 'Rise, and be

seated.' Then, while he is sitting, he thus addresses him: 'Seven years' penance must thou fulfil in the Ethican land (Tiree). Thou and I, God granting it, are to live until thou completest the number of seven years.' Comforted by these words of the Saint, and giving thanks to God, he says to the Saint, 'What ought I to do as to a particular false oath that I have taken? For I killed a certain poor fellow while staying in my native land, and after his murder I was kept in bonds as the guilty person. But a man who was related to me, of the same parentage, and greatly abounding in riches, came to the rescue, and was just in time to loose me from my bonds when bound, and he so delivered me when condemned to die. And, after my release, I promised, swearing solemnly, that I would serve him all the days of my life. But after some days spent in servitude, disdaining the service of man, and desiring rather to obey God, I got away, a deserter from that earthly master, thus breaking my oath, and I have now come to thee, the Lord prospering my journey.' To this the Saint, seeing that the man is very greatly troubled about such matters, prophesying as before, makes answer, saying, 'After the completion of seven years, as has been told thee, thou shalt come hither to me for the forty days of Lent, that in the Paschal festival thou mayest go up to the altar, and receive the Eucharist.' Why linger we over words? The penitent pilgrim obeys in all respects the commands of the holy man. And having been sent in those days to the monastery of the Plain of Lunge (in Tiree), and his seven years being fully completed there in penance, he returns to the Saint in the days of Lent, according to his former prophetic bidding. And after the completion of the Paschal solemnity, in which he went up to the altar as bidden, he came to the Saint, asking him about the above-mentioned oath. To whom, when he asks such things, the Saint makes answer, prophesying, 'Thine earthly master, of whom thou formerly spakest to me, is still alive,

and thy father and mother and brethren yet live. Now therefore thou oughtest to prepare thyself to sail.' And while thus speaking he offered to him a sword ornamented with carved tusks of beasts, saying, 'Accept this gift to take with thee, and offer it to the master for thy ransom, but yet he will in no wise accept it. For he has a wife who is well disposed, to whose wholesome counsel he will defer, and the same day he will present thee with thy freedom without money and without price, loosing from thy loins the usual captive's girdle. But though relieved from this anxiety, thou wilt not escape another disquietude arising beside it; for thy brethren will press thee on every side to make good the support due to thy father for so long a time yet neglected. But do thou, without any hesitation, fall in with their desire, and receive thine aged father to be dutifully cherished. And there is no need for thee to be distressed about this burden, however weighty it may seem to thee, for soon thou wilt lay it down; for from whatsoever day thou beginnest to attend to thy father, on another day in the end of the same week thou wilt bury his dead body. But after the burial of thy father thy brethren will again keenly set upon thee to render the same offices of piety, due also to thy mother. Thy younger brother however will free thee from that obligation, for he, being ready in thy place, will render for thee to thy mother, as her attendant, every work of filial duty.'

After these words, the above-named brother, Libran by name, accepted the gift and went on his way, enriched by the benediction of the Saint; and, on coming to his native land, he found all things proved to be true, according to the prophecy of the Saint. For as soon as he showed the price of his freedom, offering it to his master, the wife, remonstrating with him for being willing to accept it, says, 'Why should we accept this price which holy Columba has sent? Of this we are not worthy. Let this dutiful servant be delivered to him without payment. The blessing

of the holy man will profit us more than this price which is offered.' And so the husband, on hearing this wholesome counsel of the wife, at once set the servant free without payment. And he afterwards, according to the prophecy of the Saint, being compelled by his brethren, began to minister to his father, and buried him when dead, on the seventh day. And when his father is buried, he is compelled to render due service to his mother. But, a younger brother coming to the rescue, as the Saint had predicted, and supplying his place, he is released. And this brother thus spake to the other brethren: 'We ought by no means to detain our brother at home, now that he has worked out the salvation of his soul for seven years with holy Columba in Britain.'

After which, released from all the matters by which he was troubled, and bidding farewell to his mother and brothers, he returned a free man, and came to the place which in Scotic (Irish) is called Daire Calgaich (Derry); and finding there a ship under sail setting out from the harbour, he calls from the shore and eagerly begs that the mariners will take him with them to sail to Britain. But they would not receive him, and bade him begone; because they were not monks of St. Columba. Then in the next place, speaking to that same venerable man, although absent so far away, yet present in spirit, as the event soon proved, he says, 'Doth it please thee, O holy Columba, that these mariners, who will not take me who am thy companion, should sail out with full sails and prosperous winds?' While he said this, the wind, which before was favourable for them, quicker than it can be told, veered round and was contrary. Meanwhile, seeing the same man running in a line with them by the side of the river, the sailors all on a sudden take counsel among themselves, and say, calling out to him from the ship, 'Perhaps it is on this account that the wind so quickly veered round to the direction contrary for us, because we

refused to take thee with us. But if even now we invite thee to us into the ship, wilt thou be able to change the winds that are now contrary for us into favouring breezes?' Hearing these words, the traveller said to them, 'The holy Columba, to whom I am going, and whom I have served thus far for seven years, can obtain a fair wind for you from his Lord, by virtue of his prayers, if ye will take me.' On hearing this, they draw the ship up to the land, and invite him to come into it to them. And he at once, having mounted into the ship, says, 'In the name of the Almighty, whom the holy Columba blamelessly serves, haul up your sail with tightened cordage.' Which being done, the contrary gales of wind are at once turned into favouring breezes, and there succeeded a prosperous voyage into Britain under full sails. And Libran, after they had arrived on British shores, left that ship, blessed the sailors, and came to St. Columba, then dwelling in the Iouan island (Iona). Which blessed man, mark you, joyfully received him, and fully declared to him all the things that had taken place in connexion with him by the way, no other person giving any intimation; about his master, and his wife's wholesome counsel, how by her persuasion he was set free; also about his brothers, and the death of his father, and the burial at the end of the week, about his mother, and the seasonable help of the younger brother; about those things that occurred on his return journey, the wind being contrary, and then favourable; about the words of the sailors who at first refused to take him, about the promise of a favouring wind, and the favourable change of the wind when he was received into the ship. Why say more? Everything which the Saint had before prophesied as to be fulfilled, he then related as having been fulfilled.

After these words the traveller returned the price of his ransom which he had received from the Saint. To him the Saint in the same hour assigned a name, saying, 'Thou

shalt be called Libran because thou art free' (*liber*). Which Libran, mark you, in those same days, faithfully took the monastic vow. And when he was being sent back by the holy man to the monastery in which he previously for seven years served the Lord as a penitent, he received from him as he bade him farewell these prophetic words, uttered concerning himself: 'Thou shalt live a long life, and close the present life in a good old age. Not, however, in Britain, but in Scotia (Ireland), will thy resurrection be.' Hearing this word, he wept bitterly, on bended knees. And the Saint, seeing him much distressed, began to console him, saying, 'Arise, and let not thine heart be troubled. Thou shalt die in one of mine own monasteries, and with my chosen monks in the kingdom shall thy portion be; with them shalt thou awake from the sleep of death to the resurrection of life.' He then, having received from the Saint no ordinary consolation, greatly rejoiced, and, made rich by the benediction of the Saint, went on his way in peace. Which true prophecy of the Saint concerning the same man was afterwards fulfilled. For, while he served the Lord in obedience in the monastery of the Plain of Lunge, through many rolling years after the passing away of St. Columba from the world, the monk, being sent in extreme old age to Scotia (Ireland) on some monastic service, as soon as he went down from the ship, passed through the Plain of Breg (in Meath) and came to the monastery of Oak Plain (Durrow); and there, received as a guest in the guest-house, afflicted by some infirmity, on the seventh day of his sickness, he departed in peace to the Lord, and was buried among the chosen monks of St. Columba, according to his prophecy, to rise to eternal life. Let it suffice to have written these truthful prophecies of St. Columba concerning Libran of the Reed-ground. Which Libran, mark you, is so called 'Of the Reed-ground,' because for many years he had laboured in a reed-ground, getting reeds.

CHAPTER XL.

OF A CERTAIN POOR WOMAN WHO, AS A DAUGHTER OF EVE, SUFFERED GREAT AND VERY DIFFICULT PAINS OF CHILD-BIRTH.

One day, while the Saint is living in the Iouan island (Iona), he rises from his reading, and says, smiling, 'Now I must hasten to the oratory, that I may beseech the Lord for a certain poor afflicted woman, who is now in Ireland, and in her cries is calling on the name of this Columba, being tortured in strong pains of most difficult child-birth, and so hopes that, through me, release from her sufferings will be given her by the Lord, because she is related to me, having a father sprung from the family of my mother.' Thus speaking, the Saint, moved with compassion for that poor woman, runs to the church, and on bended knees prays for her to Christ Who was born of mankind. And, having gone out of the oratory after prayer, he speaks to the brethren who meet him, saying, 'Now is the Lord Jesus merciful. He Who was born of a woman, seasonably helping an afflicted woman, has delivered her from her pains, and she has safely borne a child, nor will she die this time.' The same hour, as the Saint prophesied, the poor afflicted woman, calling on his name, was released, and recovered her health. So it was afterwards stated by certain persons who came over from Scotia (Ireland), and from the same district where the woman dwelt.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF ONE LUGNE, A PILOT, SURNAMED TUDIDA, WHOM, AS BEING ILL-FAVOURED, HIS WIFE DISLIKED, AND WHO LIVED IN THE RECHREAN ISLAND (RATHLIN, OR LAMBAY?).

At another time, while the Saint was being entertained in the Rechrean island, a certain countryman came to him

and complained about his wife, who, as he said, had taken a dislike to him, and would in no wise allow him to come near her for marriage rights. On hearing this, the Saint called the wife to him, and, so far as he could, began to reprove her on that account, saying, 'Wherefore, woman, dost thou endeavour to repel from thee thine own flesh, when the Lord saith, "They twain shall be in one flesh"? Therefore the flesh of thy husband is thine own flesh.' She answers and says, 'All things whatsoever thou shalt enjoin to me, though they be ever so severe, I am prepared to fulfil, one thing only excepted, that in no wise thou constrain me to sleep in one bed with Lugne. I do not refuse to undertake all the management of the house; or, if thou biddest, even to cross the seas, and remain in some monastery of maidens.' The Saint then says, 'That which thou sayest cannot be rightly done, for thou art bound by the law of a husband so long as the husband liveth. For it would be a sin for those whom God hath lawfully joined to be put asunder.' And, having thus spoken, he next added, 'In this day three persons, that is, I and the husband, with the wife, will pray unto the Lord, fasting.' Hereupon she says, 'I know that to thee it will not be impossible that those things which appear to be difficult, or even impossible, may be granted, when sought of God.' Why say more? The wife the same day agrees to fast with the Saint, and the husband likewise; the following night the Saint prayed for them, taking no sleep; and on the next day the Saint, in the husband's presence, thus addresses the wife: 'O woman, art thou prepared to-day, as thou wast saying yesterday, to go out to a monastery of women?' She says, 'Now I know that thy prayer concerning me is heard by God, for the man whom yesterday I disliked to-day I love; for during this last night my heart, how I know not, has been changed in me from dislike to love.' Why make a long story? From that same day to the day of her death the soul of this wife was indissolubly cemented in

love of her husband, so that in no way did she thenceforth deny those rights of marriage which before she refused to render.

CHAPTER XLII.

A PROPHECY OF THE BLESSED MAN CONCERNING THE VOYAGE OF CORMAC, A DESCENDANT OF LETHAN.

At another time Cormac, a soldier of Christ, about whom we have briefly recorded some few things in the first book of this little work (p. 17), tried even a second time to look for a desert in the sea. And after he had gone out from the land with full sails through the boundless ocean, in those days St. Columba, while staying beyond the Ridge of Britain (Drum-Alban), commended him to King Brude in the presence of the sub-king of the Orcades (Orkneys), saying, 'Some of our men have lately gone out, desiring to find a desert in the boundless sea, and, in case they should after long circuits arrive at the Orcades, do thou now earnestly commend them to this sub-king, who has hostages in thy hand, lest any misfortune should happen to them while they are within the bounds of his kingdom.' Now the Saint thus pleaded with regard to this thing, because in spirit he knew beforehand that after some months the same Cormac would be coming to the Orcades. Which afterwards so came to pass; and, through the above-mentioned commendation of the holy man, he was delivered from impending death while in the Orcades. After a moderate interval of a few months, while the Saint was living in the Iouan island (Iona), one day there arises unexpectedly in his presence a mention of the same Cormac, made by some persons engaged in conversation and speaking to this effect: 'How Cormac's voyage is progressing, whether it be prosperous or not, is as yet unknown.' Which remark being heard by the Saint, he speaks on this wise, saying, 'You will be seeing Cormac, of whom you are now speaking, arriving here presently to-day.' And after the space of about

one hour, wonderful to relate, behold! Cormac, arriving so unexpectedly, walks into the oratory amid the admiration and thanksgivings of all.

And now, seeing that we have briefly introduced the prophesying of the blessed man concerning the second voyage of this man Cormac, we must also write some account of his equally prophetic knowledge concerning the third voyage.

When the same Cormac was toiling over the ocean wave for a third time, he began to be imperilled, wellnigh unto death. For when his ship ran out from the land under full sails in a direct course, even to the region of the northern sky, the south wind blowing for fourteen days and as many nights of the summer season, such navigation seemed to be beyond the limit of human wandering, and return impossible. Whence it came to pass, that after the tenth hour of that same fourteenth day, some terrors almost too great to be borne, and indeed very formidable, arose together on every side; certain foul and very dangerous creatures, which indeed up to that time had not been seen, swarmed around, covering the sea; and with horrible violence struck bottom and sides, stern and prow, with such heavy blows, that it was thought they might go through the ship's covering of hides. And, as those there present afterwards stated, they were about the size of frogs, very formidable, being furnished with stings; they were not flying, but swimming creatures, yet they also attacked the blades of the oars. On seeing these, among other monsters, of which time forbids us now to tell, Cormac and the sailors who accompanied him are greatly troubled and much afraid, and with many tears pray to God. Who is a very present help in trouble. The same hour also our own St. Columba, although far absent in body, yet was present in spirit in the ship with Cormac. Wherefore, at the same moment he rings his bell and calls the brethren to the oratory; and on entering the church, he prophesies and speaks to them in the manner usual with him, as they stand around, saying, 'Brethren, pray ye with all earnestness for

Cormac, who has now sailed beyond the limit of human voyaging, taking an unbounded course, and is at present enduring some horrible terrors, never before experienced, and almost indescribable, caused by sea-monsters. Therefore ought we in heart to compassionate our fellow-members and brethren now placed in peril past all endurance, and supplicate the Lord with them. For, behold! now Cormac, with his sailors, copiously flooding his face with tears, is earnestly praying to Christ; let us also help our brother by praying that Christ will have mercy on us, and change into the north that south wind which has now been blowing these fourteen days; that this north wind, you see, may bring Cormac's ship out of these perils.' And, thus speaking, in a plaintive voice, and on bended knees before the altar, he supplicates the Almighty power of God, which governs the winds and waves and all things else. And after his prayer he quickly rises, wipes his tears, and joyfully gives thanks to God, saying, 'Now, brethren, let us rejoice with our dear ones for whom we pray, for the Lord will now change the south wind into a north wind, which will bring our fellow-members out of their perils, and bear them back to us again.' And immediately, even as he spoke, the south wind ceased, and a north wind blew for many days after, and Cormac's ship was brought back to land. And Cormac came to St. Columba, and, God granting it, they beheld each other face to face, to the great admiration and no ordinary joy of all.

Let the reader therefore weigh well how great, and of what spirit, the blessed man was, that he had such prophetic knowledge, and, by invoking the Name of Christ, could command the winds and the sea.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF THE JOURNEY OF THE VENERABLE MAN IN A CAR, WITHOUT THE SECURITY OF THE CAR'S LINCH-PINS.

At another time, while the Saint was staying for some days in Scotia (Ireland), compelled by some ecclesiastical

engagements, he mounts a yoked car that had previously been blessed by him; but, from some negligence that occurred, what it was is not known, the necessary linch-pins had not first been put through the holes at the ends of the axles. Now on the same occasion it was Columban son of Eochaid, a holy man, founder of that monastery which in the Scotic (Irish) tongue is called Snamluthir (Slanore), who rendered the service of driver in the same car with St. Columba. Therefore there was on that day such a jolting over long stretches of roads, without any separation or loosening of the wheels and the shoulders of the axles; and, as has been said above, without any retention or security of linch-pins holding them on. But it was by Divine grace alone so granting it to the venerable man, that the car in which he was safely seated went on in a direct course without any hindrance.

Thus far it may suffice to have written of the miracles of power, which Divine omnipotence wrought through the famous man while having his portion in this present life. Now also there are some few to be put on record, of those which are proved to have been granted to him by the Lord after his passing away from the body.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF RAIN POURED OUT OVER THE THIRSTING LAND AFTER SOME MONTHS OF DROUGHT, THE LORD GRANTING IT FOR THE HONOUR OF THE BLESSED MAN.

For, indeed, about fourteen years ago, there happened in these barren lands in the spring-time a very great drought, continuous and severe, insomuch that the threatening of the Lord applied in the Book of Leviticus to the people who were transgressors appeared to be hanging over us, where He says, 'I will make for you the heaven above as iron, and the earth brass. Your labour shall be spent in vain; the earth shall not bring forth her bud, nor the trees yield fruit,' &c. We therefore, reading these words, and dreading a plague

hanging over us, took counsel and agreed that this should be done, namely, that some of our seniors should walk round the newly ploughed and sown field, with the white tunic of St. Columba, and with books written with his own pen ; and that they should lift up in the air, and shake out three times, the same tunic in which he was clothed in the hour of his departure from the flesh ; and open his books, and read them on the Angels' hill (Sithean Mor), where sometimes the citizens of the heavenly country have been seen to descend to an interview with the blessed man (p. 123). After all these things had been done according to the counsel taken, wonderful to say, on that same day, the sky, bare of clouds during the past months, March, to wit, and April, was with wonderful rapidity overspread with them, as they ascended from the sea in that place, and there came a great rain, falling day and night ; and the earth, before so thirsty, but now thoroughly saturated, produced its shoots in due season, and, in the same year, very joyful cornfields. And thus the mention of the name alone of the blessed man being called to mind, in the tunic and in the books, profited at the same time many places and peoples both serviceably and seasonably.

CHAPTER XLV.

OF CONTRARY GALES OF WIND CHANGED INTO FAVOURABLE BREEZES BY THE POWER OF THE PRAYERS OF THE VENERABLE MAN.

THE present miracles that we ourselves have seen, undoubtedly confirm our belief in those of past time, which we have not seen. For we ourselves have thrice seen contrary gales of wind made favourable. The first time was when some long dug-out boats of pine and oak were drawn over the land, and great timbers both for ships and for houses were carried out ; we took counsel, and placed on the altar, with psalms and fasting, and invocation of his name, the vestures and books of the blessed man, that he might

obtain from the Lord fair winds for our benefit. Which so came to pass, God granting it to the same holy man, for in that day in which our sailors, all preparations being made, proposed to tow through the sea with their boats and coracles the timbers of the above-mentioned materials, the winds, contrary in the previous days, were suddenly changed in our favour. Then in the next place, God being propitious, favouring breezes serving them the whole day, and with full sails, without any hindrance, all that naval expedition prosperously came through long and indirect channels to the Iouan island (Iona).

But a second time, when, after the lapse of some years, some other oak timbers, together with ourselves, were being towed from the mouth of the river Sale (the Seil in Lorne?) for the repairs of our monastery, and, twelve coracles having been got together, on one calm day, while the sailors were sweeping the sea with their oars, suddenly arises against us a west wind, also called the Zephyr, and we then turn aside for the nearest island, which in Scotic (Irish) is called Airthrago (Kerrera?), seeking therein a harbour of refuge. But meanwhile we complain of that inconvenient contrary state of the wind, and we begin somehow as it were to accuse our Columba, saying, 'Doth this our unfortunate detention please thee, O Saint? Hitherto we have hoped that thou wouldst grant us, God being propitious, some comforting help in our labours, reckoning thee, indeed, to be a man of some great honour in the sight of God.' When we had thus spoken, after a little space, as it were of a single moment, wonderful to say, behold, the contrary west wind ceases, and, more quickly than can be said, a favourable south-east wind blows. The sailors, receiving their orders, then haul up the yards in the form of a cross, and also the sails, with extended ropes, and, reaching our island the same day with favouring and gentle breezes, we are conveyed without any laborious work, together with all the fellow-workers in our boats, rejoicing in the conveyance of the timbers. That

querulous accusation of the holy man, slight as it was, profited us not a little. And of how great and of what manner of merit in the sight of the Lord is the Saint whom He Himself had heard, appears in so rapid a change of the winds.

Then a third time was, when during the summer season, after the meeting of an Irish synod, we were detained for some days by contrary winds among the people of the tribe of Lorne, and reached the Sainean island (Shuna), and there the festival eve, and solemn day of St. Columba, found us waiting, and very sad, being desirous, you see, to keep it as a joyful day in the Iouan island (Iona). Wherefore, as on another former occasion, we complained, saying, 'Doth it please thee, O Saint, that we should spend to-morrow, the day of thy festival, among country-folk, and not in thy church? It is an easy thing for thee in the beginning of such a day to obtain from the Lord that contrary winds be changed into favourable, and that we celebrate in thy church the solemnities of the masses of thy birthday' (festival). After passing that night, we rise early in the morning, and, seeing that the contrary winds have ceased, we mount our ships with no wind blowing, and advance into the sea; when, behold, immediately the south wind, also called Notus, blows after us. Then the sailors joyously run up the sails, and so on that day, God granting it to the blessed man, our voyage was such, without labour, so rapid, and so prosperous, that, as we before desired, arriving at the harbour of the Iouan island after the third hour of the day (9 a.m.), the washing of hands and feet being finished after that, we entered the church with the brethren at the sixth hour (noon), and celebrated together the sacred solemnities of masses, on the feast day, I say, of the birth (into the future life) of St. Columba and St. Baithene (June 9); in the dawning of which day, as has been said above, we set out from the Sainean island, situated at a great distance. Now there are yet living witnesses of this story above related, and not only two or three, according to the law, but one hundred and more.

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF THE PLAGUE.

And this also, as I think, appears to be something not to be reckoned among the smaller miracles of power, namely, concerning the plague which in our times has twice laid waste the world in its greater part. For, not to mention other wider regions of Europe, namely, Italy and the Roman city itself, and the Cisalpine provinces of the Gauls, also those of Spain, separated by the barrier of the Pyrenean mountain-range; the isles of the sea throughout, Scotia (Ireland) and Britain for instance, have on two occasions been wasted by dreadful pestilence; except two races, that is to say, the people of the Picts, and that of the Scots (Irish colonists) of Britain, between whom the hills of the Britannic ridge (Drum-Alban) form a boundary. And, although there are not wanting great sins of both tribes, sins by which the eternal Judge is generally provoked to anger, yet He has spared both thus far, bearing patiently with them. Now to what other person is this grace, granted them by God, attributed, but to St. Columba, whose monasteries, founded within the boundaries of both peoples, have been held in very great honour by both, up to the present time? Yet this which we are now about to say is not to be heard, we think, without a sigh, that there are many in both races very senseless, who, not knowing that they are defended from diseases by the prayers of the Saints, and being unthankful, wickedly abuse the patience of God. But we render frequent thanks to God, Who defends us also from the assaults of pestilences in these our islands, while our venerable patron prays for us; and in Saxonia (England), when we visited my friend King Aldfrid while the plague had not yet ceased, and was wasting many villages here and there, yet both in its first onset after the war of Ecfrid, and in a second, two years having intervened, the Lord so delivered us while

walking in such danger in the midst of mortality, that not even one of our companions died, nor was any one of them troubled by any disease.

This second book, of Miracles of power, must now be ended, and in it the reader ought to take notice that even of those which are well ascertained, many have been omitted in order not to fatigue our readers.

HERE ENDETH THE SECOND BOOK.

HERE BEGIN THE HEADINGS OF THE THIRD BOOK.

PREFACE.—Of angelic apparitions which were revealed either to others concerning the blessed man, or to himself concerning others.

CHAP.

I. Of the angel of the Lord who appeared to his mother in dreams after his conception in the womb.

II. Of a luminous ray seen over the face of the boy himself as he slept.

III. Of an apparition of holy angels whom St. Brendan saw in company with the blessed man, walking with him through the field.

IV. Of the angel of the Lord whom St. Finnian saw as the companion of the blessed man's journey.

V. Of the angel of the Lord who appeared visibly to St. Columba while staying in Hinba island, when sent to ordain Aedhan to be king.

VI. Of an apparition of angels carrying to heaven the soul of a certain Brito.

VII. Of a vision of angels who were conducting the soul of one Diormit to heaven, revealed to the same holy man.

VIII. Of a mighty conflict of angels against demons, and of their seasonably assisting the Saint in the same combat.

IX. Of an apparition of angels whom the man of God saw carrying to heaven the soul of a certain blacksmith, named Columb, surnamed Coilrigin.

X. Of a similar vision of angels whom the blessed man beheld carrying to heaven the soul of a certain woman of holy life.

XI. Of an apparition of holy angels whom St. Columba saw meeting on its way the soul of blessed Brendan, the founder of that monastery which in Scotic (Irish) is named Birra (of Birr).

CHAP.
XII. Of a vision of holy angels who carried up to heaven the soul of St. Columban Moculoigse, the bishop.
XIII. Of an apparition of angels who came down to meet the souls of monks of St. Comgell.
XIV. Of a manifestation of angels meeting the soul of one Emchath.
XV. Of the angel of the Lord who at the nick of time so quickly helped a certain brother who had fallen from the top of the round monastery in Durrow.
XVI. Of a multitude of holy angels seen descending from heaven for a conference with the blessed man.
XVII. Of a luminous column seen to rise flaming from the head of the holy man.
XVIII. Of the descent or visitation of the Holy Spirit, which in the same island for three days in succession, and as many nights, continued over the venerable man.
XIX. Of the brightness of angelical light which Virgno (Fergna), a youth of good disposition, who afterwards, by the providence of God, presided over this church, which I, though unworthy, now serve, saw descending over St. Columba in the church, while the brethren were resting in their beds one winter's night.
XX. Of another almost similar vision of great brightness.
XXI. Of another corresponding apparition of Divine light.
XXII. Of another apparition of angels manifested to the holy man; those namely whom he saw setting out to meet his holy soul, when it was as if soon about to depart from the body.
XXIII. Of the passing away to the Lord of our holy patron Columba.

HERE END THE HEADINGS OF THE THIRD BOOK.

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK,

OF ANGELIC VISITATIONS.

PREFACE.

In the first of these three books, as has been mentioned above, we have described briefly and succinctly, the Lord helping us, some of the Prophetic revelations. In the second and preceding book, some of the Miracles of power which have been shown through the blessed man, and which, as has often been said, the grace of prophecy for the most part accompanies. But in this third book, some of the Angelic apparitions which have been revealed either to others concerning the blessed man, or to himself concerning others; and of these, some which have been manifested to both parties, although in different measure, that is, to himself specially and more fully, but to others not specially, and only in part, that is, externally and tentatively, yet in the same visions, whether of angels or of celestial light. Whatever in any case may be the discrepancies in such visions, they will be resolved where they are written below in their places. But now, to begin our description of the angelic apparitions from the earliest origins of the birth of the blessed man.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD WHO APPEARED TO HIS MOTHER IN DREAMS AFTER HIS CONCEPTION IN THE WOMB.

One night, between the conception and birth of the venerable man, the angel of the Lord appeared in dreams to his mother, and let down to her, as he stood by her, a certain robe of wondrous beauty, in which the beautiful colours as it were of all flowers appeared to be depicted, and which after some short interval he asked to have back, and took it from her hands, and, lifting it up and spreading it out, let it go in the empty air. But she, being made sad by its being taken away from her, so speaks to that man of worshipful presence, 'Why dost thou so soon take away from me this delightful mantle?' He immediately replies, 'For this reason, because this cloak belongs to some one of such distinguished honour, that thou wilt not be able to keep it longer with thee.' After these words, the woman saw the above-mentioned mantle gradually lengthening from her in its flight, and increasing in size so as to exceed the breadth of the plains, and to overtop the mountains and woods in its greater measure, and she heard a voice following thus: 'Woman, be not sad, for to the man to whom thou art joined in the marriage compact thou shalt bear so famous a son, that he will be numbered with the prophets of God as one of themselves, predestinated by God as the leader of innumerable souls to the celestial country.' And while she is hearing this voice the woman awakes.

CHAPTER II.

OF A LUMINOUS RAY SEEN OVER THE FACE OF THE BOY HIMSELF AS HE SLEPT.

On another night, the presbyter Cruithnechan, a man of admirable life, the foster-father of the same blessed boy,

returning after mass from the church to his dwelling, found the whole of his house irradiated by a bright light. He saw, in fact, a globe of fire standing over the face of the sleeping child; at the sight of which he immediately quaked with fear, and, falling down with his face to the earth, greatly wondering, he understood that the grace of the Holy Spirit was poured out from heaven upon his foster-child.

CHAPTER III.

OF AN APPARITION OF HOLY ANGELS WHOM ST. BRENDAN SAW IN COMPANY WITH THE BLESSED MAN, WALKING WITH HIM THROUGH THE FIELD.

For, after the space of many seasons, when St. Columba was excommunicated by a certain synod for some venial and, so far, excusable matters, not rightly, as afterwards became clear at the last, he came to the same assembly that had been gathered against himself. And when St. Brendan, the founder of that monastery which in Scotic (Irish) is called Birra (of Birr), while at a distance, saw him approaching, he quickly rises, and with face bowed down, reverently kisses him. When some seniors in that assembly, the rest being placed apart, were finding fault with him, saying, 'Why dost thou not decline to rise before, and to kiss, an excommunicated person?' he speaks to them on this wise, and says, 'If ye had seen what the Lord hath not disdained to show to me this day with regard to this His chosen one, whom ye dishonour, ye would never have excommunicated one, whom, not only doth God in no wise excommunicate in accordance with your improper sentence, but even more and more exalteth.' They on the other side say, 'How, we should like to know, doth God, as thou sayest, glorify him whom we have excommunicated, and not without cause?' 'I have seen,' says Brendan, 'a very luminous column of fiery hair going before the

man of God whom ye despise, and also holy angels, the companions of his walk through the field. Therefore I dare not slight this man, whom I see to be foreordained by God to be the leader of the peoples unto life.' When he had thus spoken, not only did they desist, not daring to go further in excommunicating the Saint, but they even honoured him with great veneration. This thing was done in Teilte (Teltown).

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD WHOM ST. FINNIAN SAW AS THE COMPANION OF THE BLESSED MAN'S JOURNEY.

At another time, the holy man visited the venerable bishop Finnian, his former master; that is to say, the young man visited the old man. And when St. Finnian saw him approaching towards him, he saw at the same time an angel of the Lord, the companion of his journey; and, as is handed down to us by well-informed persons, he mentioned it to certain brethren standing by, saying, 'Behold! now ye may see approaching us the holy Columba, who has merited to have an angel from heaven as the companion of his journey.'

In those days the Saint sailed over to Britain with twelve comrades, his disciples.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD WHO APPEARED VISIBLY TO ST. COLUMBA WHILE STAYING IN HINBA ISLAND, WHEN SENT TO ORDAIN AEDHAN TO BE KING.

At another time, while the famous man was staying in Hinba island (Eilean-na-Naoimh?), one night in an ecstasy of mind he saw an angel of the Lord sent to him, who had in his hand the glassy book of the ordination of kings, which the venerable man, when he had received it from

the hand of the angel, at his bidding began to read. And when he refused to ordain Aedhan to be king, as was recommended to him in the book, because he loved Iogenan his brother more; suddenly the angel put out his hand and smote the Saint with a scourge, the livid mark of which remained on his side all the days of his life. And he added this word, saying, 'Know for certain that I am sent unto thee from God with the glassy book, that, according to the words which thou hast read in it, thou mayest ordain Aedhan to the kingdom. And if thou art not willing to obey this command, I will smite thee again.' When, therefore, this angel of the Lord appeared for three nights in succession, having in his hand that glassy book, and committed to him the same commands of the Lord concerning the ordination of that king, the Saint, obeying the word of the Lord, sailed over to the Iouan island (Iona), and there ordained Aedhan, who arrived in those days, to be king, as he had been commanded. And among the words of ordination he prophesied future events concerning his sons and grandsons and great grandsons, and, placing his hand upon his head, ordained and blessed him.

Cuimine (Cummian) the Fair, in the book which he wrote of the virtues of St. Columba, has thus said, that St. Columba began to prophesy of Aedhan and his posterity, and of his kingdom, saying, 'Believe without doubting, O Aedhan, that none of thine adversaries will be able to resist thee, until thou first actest fraudulently against me and against my successors. Wherefore, then, do thou commend it to thy sons, that they may commend it to their sons and grandsons and posterity, lest they through evil counsels lose the sceptre of this their kingdom out of their hands. For at whatsoever time they do anything against me or against my kinsmen who are in Ireland, the scourge, which for thy sake I have endured from the angel, shall by the hand of God be turned upon them to their great disgrace,

and the heart of men shall be taken away from them, and their enemies shall be greatly strengthened over them.'

Now this prophecy has been fulfilled in our own times, in the battle of Roth (Magh Rath, fought 637), when Domhnall Brecc, grandson of Aedhan, without cause wasted the province of Domhnall, grandson of Ainmire. And from that day to this they are ever on the decline through means of strangers, which excites in the breast deep sighs of grief.

CHAPTER VI.

OF AN APPARITION OF ANGELS CARRYING TO HEAVEN THE SOUL OF A CERTAIN BLESSED BRITO.

At another time, while the holy man was staying in the Iouan island (Iona), one of his monks, Brito, intent on good deeds, being seized with bodily sickness, was brought to the last extremity. When the venerable man visited him in the hour of his departure, standing a little while by his bed, and blessing him, he quickly goes out home, unwilling to see him dying. And he, in the very moment after the holy man had left the house, closed this present life. Then the famous man, walking in the courtyard of his monastery with his eyes lifted up to heaven, was for some time lost in amazement, greatly wondering. But a certain brother, Aedhan by name, son of Libir, a religious man and one of a good disposition, the only one of the brethren who was present at that hour, on bended knees began to ask the Saint to tell him the reason for such great astonishment. To whom the Saint replies, 'Now have I seen in the air holy angels warring against hostile powers, and I give thanks to Christ, the Witness of the conflict, that the victorious angels have carried up to the joys of the heavenly country the soul of this stranger, who is the first that hath died among us in this island. But I beseech thee not to reveal the holy secret to any one during my life.'

CHAPTER VII.

OF A VISION OF ANGELS WHO WERE CONDUCTING THE SOUL OF ONE DIORMIT TO HEAVEN, REVEALED TO THE SAME HOLY MAN.

At another time, a certain Irish stranger came to the Saint, and abode with him for some months in the Iouan island (Iona). One day the blessed man says to him, 'Now is one of the clergy of thy province, whose name I do not yet know, being carried to heaven by angels.' But the brother, on hearing this, began to search within himself about the province of the Anteriores (Easterns), who in Scotic (Irish) are named Indairthir (men of East Oriel, in Ulster), and about the name of that blessed man; and then made this remark, saying, 'I know another soldier of Christ, named Diormit, who built for himself a small monastery in the same district wherein I also was living.' The Saint says to him, 'He it is of whom thou art speaking, who has now been conducted into Paradise by the angels of God.'

But this also must very carefully be noted, that there were many secrets, holy mysteries, revealed to him by God, but concealed from others, which the same venerable man in no wise suffered to be brought to the knowledge of men; there being two reasons for this, as he himself once hinted to a few brethren, namely, that he might avoid vainglory, and, that he might not encourage, for the purpose of asking questions of himself, intolerable crowds of persons wishing to make inquiries concerning him, when the fame of his revelations was spread abroad.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF A MIGHTY CONFLICT OF ANGELS AGAINST DEMONS, AND OF THEIR SEASONABLY ASSISTING THE SAINT IN THE SAME COMBAT.

Another day the holy man, while living in the Iouan island (Iona), sought among the bushes a place more remote

from men, and fit for prayer; and there, when he began to pray, on a sudden, as he himself afterwards told a few of the brethren, he sees over against him a very black host of demons fighting with iron darts, who, as had been revealed to the holy man by the Spirit, wished to invade his monastery, and to kill many of the brethren with the same weapons. But he, one man alone against innumerable foes such as they were, took the armour of the apostle Paul, and fought in hard conflict. And so for the greater part of the day was the fighting continued on both sides, neither were they, though innumerable, able to conquer him, though but one; nor was he alone strong enough to drive them from his island, until the angels of God, as the Saint afterwards related to some few persons, came to his aid; and for fear of these the demons were terror-stricken and gave way. On the same day the Saint, on his return to the monastery after the putting to flight of the demons from his island, speaks this word about the same hostile bands, saying, 'Those deadly foes who on this day, by the mercy of God and the angels helping us, have been driven out from the bounds of this little land unto the Ethican land (Tiree), will there as savage invaders enter the monasteries of the brethren, and will bring in pestilential diseases, of which many, attacked by the sickness, will die.' Which so came to pass in those days, according to the foreknowledge of the blessed man. And afterwards, two days having intervened, the Spirit revealing it to him, he says, 'Baithene, by God's help, has managed that the congregation of the church over which by Divine Providence he presides, in the Plain of Lunge (in Tiree), is defended by fastings and prayers from the invasion of demons, where no one, except one who is already dead, will die this time.' Which was so fulfilled, according to his prophecy. For, while many in the other monasteries of the same island died of that disease, no one, except the one of whom the Saint spoke, died with Baithene, in his congregation.

CHAPTER IX.

OF AN APPARITION OF ANGELS WHOM THE MAN OF GOD SAW CARRYING TO HEAVEN THE SOUL OF A CERTAIN BLACKSMITH, NAMED COLUMB, SURNAMED COILRIGIN.

A CERTAIN blacksmith was living in the central portion of Scotia (Ireland), very intent on almsdeeds, and abounding in other acts of righteousness. When this Columb above mentioned, surnamed Coilrigin, was come to his latter end in a good old age, in the same hour in which he was led forth from the body, St. Columba, then living in the Iouan island (Iona), thus spoke to some few seniors who were standing around: 'Columb Coilrigin,' he says, 'the blacksmith, has not laboured in vain; for out of the labour of his own hands has he, a happy purchaser, obtained eternal rewards. For, behold! now is his soul carried by holy angels to the joys of the heavenly country. For whatever he was able to acquire by the business of his craft, he spent upon alms for the poor.'

CHAPTER X.

OF A SIMILAR VISION OF ANGELS WHOM THE BLESSED MAN BEHELD CARRYING TO HEAVEN THE SOUL OF A CERTAIN WOMAN OF HOLY LIFE.

IN like manner, at another time, the holy man, while living in the Iouan island (Iona), one day, suddenly raising his eyes to heaven, spoke these words: 'Happy woman, happy for thy holy life, whose soul even now the angels of God are carrying to Paradise!' Now there was a certain religious brother, Genere by name, a Saxon (Englishman) and a baker, engaged in baker's work, who had heard this word proceeding from the mouth of the Saint. And on the same day of the month, at the end of that year, the Saint says to the same Genere the Saxon, 'I see a wonderful thing. Behold! the woman of whom I spoke in

thy presence a year ago is now meeting in the air the soul of a certain countryman, her husband, and, together with holy angels, is fighting for that soul against hostile powers: by their assistance, and the righteousness of the same poor man recommending him, his soul is snatched from the contentions of demons, and led through to the place of eternal refreshment.'

CHAPTER XI.

OF AN APPARITION OF HOLY ANGELS WHOM ST. COLUMBA SAW MEETING ON ITS WAY THE SOUL OF BLESSED BRENDAN, THE FOUNDER OF THAT MONASTERY WHICH IN SCOTIC (IRISH) IS NAMED BIRRA (OF BIRR).

ANOTHER day in like manner, while the venerable man was living in the Iouan island (Iona), early in the morning he calls to him his oft-mentioned attendant, Diormit by name, and gives him directions, saying, 'Let the sacred ministrations of the Eucharist be quickly prepared. For to-day is the birthday (festival) of blessed Brendan.' 'Wherefore,' says the attendant, 'dost thou direct that such solemnities of masses be prepared on this day, for no messenger of the death of that holy man has come to us from Scotia (Ireland)?' 'Go,' then says the Saint, 'thou oughtest to obey my direction. For this last night I saw the heaven suddenly opened, and choirs of angels descending to meet the soul of the holy Brendan; by whose luminous and incomparable brightness the whole compass of the world was enlightened in that hour.'

CHAPTER XII.

OF A VISION OF HOLY ANGELS WHO CARRIED UP TO HEAVEN THE SOUL OF ST. COLUMBAN MOCULOIGSE, THE BISHOP.

ON a certain day in like manner, while the brethren were putting on their shoes, and were preparing in the morning

to go to the different occupations of the monastery, the Saint directs that on the contrary they keep holiday on that day, that the requisites for the sacred oblation be prepared, and that some addition be made to their frugal meal, as on the Lord's day. 'And me,' he says, 'however unworthy I may be, it behoves to celebrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, out of veneration for that soul which this last night has been borne away amid the holy choirs of angels, and has ascended to Paradise beyond the starry tracts of the heavens.' Then the brethren obey these words, and, according to the bidding of the Saint, keep holiday that same day, and, the sacred ministries being prepared, they proceed to the church with the Saint, all arrayed in white, as on a solemn day. But it so happened that while among other such offices was sung with musical intonation that accustomed prayer in which the name of St. Martin is commemorated, the Saint, suddenly turning to the singers when they came to the place where his name occurs, says, 'To-day ye ought to sing for St. Columban the bishop.' Then all the brethren who were present understood that Columban, a bishop in Leinster and a dear friend of Columba, had passed away to the Lord. And after the space of some time, some persons coming from the province of Leinster announce that the same bishop had died during that night in which it was so revealed to the Saint.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF AN APPARITION OF ANGELS WHO CAME DOWN TO MEET THE SOULS OF MONKS OF ST. COMGELL.

At another time the venerable man, while living in the Iouan island (Iona), incited by some sudden impulse, rang his bell; and, when the brethren are assembled, he says, 'Now let us help by prayer the monks of the abbot Comgell, who are in this hour drowned in the Lough of the Calf (Bel-

fast Lough); for, behold, at this moment they are warring in the air against hostile powers who are trying to snatch away the soul of a certain guest who is drowned along with them.' Then, after tearful and earnest prayer, he quickly rises before the altar with a joyful countenance, among the brethren who are at the same time prostrate in prayer, and says, 'Give thanks to Christ. For holy angels meeting holy souls have now delivered, as conquering warriors, even that guest also, snatched from the conflicts of warring demons.'

CHAPTER XIV.

OF A MANIFESTATION OF ANGELS MEETING THE SOUL OF ONE EMCHATH.

At another time the holy man, making his way beyond the Ridge of Britain (Drum-Alban) near the lake of the river Nisa (Loch Ness), being suddenly inspired by the Holy Spirit, says to the brethren who are journeying with him at that time, 'Let us make haste to meet the holy angels who, that they may carry away the soul of a certain heathen man, who is keeping the moral law of nature even to extreme old age, have been sent out from the highest regions of heaven, and are waiting until we come thither, that we may baptize him in time before he dies.' And, thus speaking, the aged Saint made as much haste as he could to go in advance of his companions, until he came to the district which is named Airchart-dan (Glen Urquhart). And a certain old man there found, Emchath by name, hearing the word of God preached by the Saint, and believing, was baptized, and immediately, joyful and safe, with the angels who were meeting him, passed away to the Lord. But his son Virolec also believed, together with his whole house, and was baptized.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD WHO AT THE NICK OF TIME SO QUICKLY HELPED A CERTAIN BROTHER WHO HAD FALLEN FROM THE TOP OF THE ROUND MONASTERY IN DURROW.

At another time, while the holy man was sitting writing in his little cell, suddenly his countenance is changed, and he pours forth this cry from his pure breast, saying, 'Help! Help!' But two brethren standing at the door, namely Colgu son of Cellach, and Lugne Mocublai, ask him the reason of such a sudden cry. To whom the venerable man gave this answer, saying, 'I have directed the angel of the Lord, who was just now standing among you, with all haste to help one of the brethren who has fallen from the top of the roof of the great house which is at the present time being built in the Plain of the Oakwood' (Durrow). And then the Saint added these words, saying, 'How wonderful and almost unspeakable is the swiftness of angelic flight, equal, as I think, to the rapidity of lightning. For that heavenly spirit who just now flew away from us hence, when that man began to slip, came to his help as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and bore him up before he could touch the ground; nor could he who fell perceive any fracture or injury. How amazing, I say, is this most rapid and seasonable help, which, quicker than can be said, with such great spaces of sea and land lying between, can so very rapidly be rendered.'

CHAPTER XVI.

OF A MULTITUDE OF HOLY ANGELS SEEN DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN FOR A CONFERENCE WITH THE BLESSED MAN.

At another time again, the blessed man one day, while living in the Iouan island (Iona), the brethren being gathered together, charged them with great earnestness, saying to

them, 'To-day I desire to go out alone into the western plain of our island; therefore let none of you follow me.' And on their professing obedience, he goes out alone, as he wished. But a certain brother, a crafty, prying fellow, slipping off another way, secretly ensconces himself in the top of a certain little hill which overlooks the same plain: desiring, you see, to find out the cause of that solitary expedition of the blessed man. And when the same spy, from the top of the hillock, beheld him standing on a certain little hill on that plain, praying with his hands spread out to heaven, and lifting up his eyes to heaven: wonderful to say, behold then suddenly a marvellous sight appeared, which the same above-mentioned man, as I think, not without the permission of God, saw even with bodily eyes, from his place on the nearer little hill; that the name of the Saint, and the honour due to him, might afterwards, though against his own will, be the more spread abroad among the people on account of this vision thus vouchsafed. For holy angels, citizens of the celestial country, flying to him with wonderful swiftness, and clothed in white robes, began to stand around the holy man as he prayed; and, after some conversation with the blessed man, that heavenly host, as if perceiving itself to be under observation, quickly sped back to the highest heavens. And the blessed man himself, after the angelic conference, on his return to the monastery, again gathers the brethren together, and with no ordinary chiding inquires which of them is guilty of transgression. And, when they then declare that they do not know, the offender, conscious of his inexcusable transgression, and not enduring further to conceal his fault, on bended knees, in the midst of the choir of the brethren, as a suppliant, begs pardon before the Saint. The Saint, leading him aside, charges him, with severe threatening, as he kneels before him, that to no man must he disclose anything, not even a little secret, concerning that angelic vision, during the life of the same blessed man. But after the departure of the

holy man from the body, he related that apparition of the heavenly host to the brethren, with solemn attestation. Whence, even to this day, the place of that angelic conference attests the event that took place there by its own proper name, which in Latin can be rendered Colliculus Angelorum; but in Scotic (Irish) Cnoc Angel (the Angels' hill, now Sithean Mor, the greater Fairies' hill). Wherefore we must direct our thoughts, and very carefully examine, how great and of what nature were those sweet visits of angels to the blessed man, for the most part in winter nights, as he was watching and praying in the more secret places, while others slept; visits which could in no way come to the knowledge of men, and no doubt were very numerous. And even if some of them could in any way be found out by men, whether by day or by night, these without a doubt were very few in comparison with those angelic visits which, mark you, could be known by no one. This also is in like manner to be noted concerning some luminous manifestations, which were found out by a few persons, and will be described below.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF A LUMINOUS COLUMN SEEN TO RISE FLAMING FROM THE HEAD OF THE HOLY MAN.

At another time four holy founders of monasteries, coming over from Scotia (Ireland) to visit St. Columba, found him in Hinba island (Eilean-na-Naoimh, one of the Garveloch isles?); the names of which illustrious men were Comgell Mocu Aridi, Cainnech Mocu Dalon, Brendan Mocu Alti, and Cormac Ua Liathain. These all with one consent chose that St. Columba should consecrate before them in the church the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist. So he, complying with their bidding, on the Lord's day, according to custom, after the reading of the Gospel, enters the church together with them; and there, while the solemnities of masses were

being celebrated, St. Brendan Mocu Alti saw, as he afterwards told Comgell and Cainnech, a certain globe of fire with a hairy tail, very luminous, rising upward, like some column, from the top of the head of St. Columba, as he was standing before the altar consecrating the holy oblation, and flaming, until such time as the same all-holy ministrations were completed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE DESCENT OR VISITATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, WHICH IN THE SAME ISLAND FOR THREE DAYS IN SUCCESSION, AND AS MANY NIGHTS, CONTINUED OVER THE VENERABLE MAN.

At another time, while the holy man was sojourning in Hinba island (see chap. xvii), the grace of holy inspiration was poured out upon him in an abundant and incomparable manner, and wonderfully continued with him for three days; so that, for three days and as many nights, he remained within a house which was locked up and filled with celestial light, would suffer no man to come near him, and neither did eat nor drink. And from this house, mark you, rays of intense brightness were seen at night, breaking out through the chinks of the doors and the keyholes. Some spiritual songs also, which had not been heard before, were then heard as they were being sung by him. But he himself also, as he afterwards declared before a very few persons, saw, openly manifested, many secret things, hidden ever since the foundation of the world. Some obscure and most difficult passages of the sacred Scriptures appeared plain; and in that light were more clearly manifested to the eyes of his most pure heart. He lamented that Baithene his foster-son was not present; had he chanced to be there in those three days, he might have written down many things from the lips of the blessed man; mysteries unknown by other men, either concerning past ages, or those which were next to follow; and also some explanations of the sacred volumes. Baithene

however could not be present, being detained by contrary winds in the Egean island (Eigg) until those three days and as many nights of that incomparable and glorious visitation came to a close.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE ANGELICAL BRIGHTNESS OF THE LIGHT WHICH VIRGNO (FERGNA), A YOUTH OF GOOD DISPOSITION, WHO AFTERWARDS, BY THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, PRESIDED OVER THIS CHURCH, WHICH I, THOUGH UNWORTHY, NOW SERVE, SAW DESCENDING OVER ST. COLUMBA IN THE CHURCH, WHILE THE BRETHREN WERE RESTING IN THEIR BEDS ONE WINTER'S NIGHT.

One winter's night the above-mentioned Virgno, burning with the love of God, enters the church alone for the sake of prayer, while others were asleep, and there prayed devoutly in a certain side-house which abutted on the wall of the oratory. And after some considerable interval, say of about one hour, the venerable man Columba enters the same holy house, and, together with him, a golden light, descending from the utmost height of heaven, filling all that space of the church. But the brightness of the same celestial light, breaking through the inner door of that chamber, which was slightly open, filled the separate interior of that little side-house where Virgno was trying all he could to conceal himself, and not without some terrible fear. And as no summer and noonday sun can be gazed upon with direct and undazzled eyes, so also Virgno himself could in no wise bear the celestial brightness which he saw, because that incomparable flood of light completely dazzled the sight of his eyes. At the vision of this fearful splendour, as of the lightning's flash, the above-mentioned brother was terrified to that degree that there was no strength left in him. But St. Columba, after a short prayer, goes out of the church. And on the morrow he calls to him Virgno, who is greatly awe-stricken, and addresses him in these short consolatory

words, saying, again and again, 'O my child, thou hast been very pleasing in the sight of God during the past night, casting thine eyes down to the ground, terrified by the fear of His brightness; for, if thou hadst not so done, thine eyes would have been blinded at the sight of that inestimable light. But this must thou carefully observe; never to disclose to any one during my life so rare a manifestation of light.' And so this famous and wonderful occurrence became known to many after the departure of the same blessed man, from the narration of the same Virgno. Indeed, Comman, an honourable presbyter, sister's son to the same Virgno, gave an account to me, Adamnan, about the above vision, written out at some time or other, and duly witnessed. And he also had heard it related by the lips of the abbot Virgno himself, his uncle, who, as far as he could, had seen that vision.

CHAPTER XX.

OF ANOTHER ALMOST SIMILAR VISION OF GREAT BRIGHTNESS.

ANOTHER night also, one of the brethren, Colga by name, son of Aedh Draigniche, of the race of Fechureg, of whom we made mention in the first book (p. 23); came by chance to the door of the church while others were sleeping, and there stood for some time and prayed. Then in the next place he sees the whole church filled with celestial light: which light indeed, quicker than can be said, vanished like lightning from his gaze. But he was not aware that St. Columba was at that hour praying within the church. And after such a sudden apparition of light he returns home in great alarm. On the next day the Saint, calling him to him, rebuked him sharply, saying, 'Take care from this time, my son, that thou dost not, like a prying person, endeavour to search into that heavenly light which has not been granted to thee, because it will flee from thee; and do not tell any one, in my days, what thou hast seen.'

CHAPTER XXI.

OF ANOTHER CORRESPONDING APPARITION OF DIVINE LIGHT.

At another time again, to a certain foster-son of his in pursuit of learning, of the name of Berchan, whose surname was Mesloen, the blessed man one day gave strict orders, saying, 'Take care, my son, that to-night thou approach not my little dwelling, as thou art always wont to do.' After hearing this, notwithstanding the prohibition, he went to the house of the blessed man in the silence of night, while others were sleeping, and, slyly prying, put his eyes straight to the keyholes, evidently thinking that, as the event proved, some celestial vision would be manifested to the Saint within. For, in the same hour, that little dwelling of the blessed man was filled with the splendour of celestial brightness, which that young transgressor could not bear to look upon; and so he fled from the place. The Saint on the morrow, leading him aside, and rebuking him with great severity, addresses him in these words; saying, 'This last night, my son, thou hast sinned before God; for thou didst foolishly imagine that the prying of thy secret artfulness could be concealed, or hidden from the Holy Spirit. Did not I see thee coming to the door of my little dwelling in that hour, and thence returning? And if I had not at the same moment prayed for thee, thou mightest there, before the door, either have fallen down dead, or thine eyes might have been plucked out of their sockets. But the Lord hath spared thee this time for my sake. And know this, that while living in luxury in thine Irish fatherland, thy face shall burn with shame all the days of thy life. But this I have obtained from the Lord in prayer, that because thou art my foster-child, thou shalt do a tearful penance before thy death, and obtain mercy from God.' All which things, according to the word of the blessed man, so happened to him afterwards, as they had been prophesied concerning him.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF ANOTHER APPARITION OF ANGELS MANIFESTED TO THE HOLY MAN, THOSE, NAMELY, WHOM HE SAW SETTING OUT TO MEET HIS HOLY SOUL, WHEN IT WAS AS IF SOON ABOUT TO DEPART FROM THE BODY.

At another time, while the blessed man was living in the Iouan island (Iona), one day his holy face lighted up with a certain wondrous and joyous cheerfulness, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, filled with incomparable joy, he was intensely gladdened. Then, after a moderate interval of some little moment or so, that savoury and delightful gladness is turned into a mournful sadness. Now the two men who at that hour were standing at the door of his little cell, which was constructed on a higher spot, being also themselves greatly saddened together with him, of whom the one was Lugne Mocublai, but the other was named Pilu, a Saxon (Englishman), inquire the cause of that sudden gladness, and of that subsequent sadness. To whom the Saint thus speaks: 'Go in peace, and do not now ask of me that the cause of that gladness or even of the sadness be manifested to you.' On hearing this, all in tears, and kneeling down with faces prostrate on the ground, they beseech him with supplication, desiring to know something of that thing which had been revealed to the Saint in the same hour. And, seeing them greatly saddened, he says, 'Because I love you, I will not give way to sadness. Ye must promise me first that never in my lifetime will ye betray to any man the holy secret about which ye are inquiring.' And they at once, according to his injunction, readily promised. And, after such promise, the venerable man thus speaks to them, saying, 'Up to this present day, thirty years of my sojourning in Britain are accomplished. Meanwhile, for many days past I have devoutly besought my Lord, that at the end of this present thirtieth year He

would release me from my dwelling here, and call me thither to the celestial country. And this was the cause of my gladness, about which you in your sorrow are asking me. For I saw holy angels sent from the throne on high to meet me, and to lead out my soul from the flesh. But behold now, suddenly held back, they are standing on a rock on the other side of the Sound of our island, evidently wishing to come near, to call me away from the body unto them. But they are not permitted to come nearer, and are soon to speed their flight to the highest heavens; because that which the Lord granted me, when I prayed with all my might, that on this day I might pass away from the world to Himself, He, giving more heed to the prayers of many churches for me, hath changed quicker than can be said. To which churches, indeed, so praying for me, it has been granted by the Lord, that, although against mine own will, four years from this day are added for my remaining in the flesh. This delay, so sad for me, has not unreasonably been the cause of my sadness to-day. And when, you see, these four years yet to come in this life, please God, are ended, I shall pass away rejoicing to the Lord, by a sudden departure, without any previous bodily pain, with holy angels coming to meet me at that time.' According to these words, which, as is said, the venerable man did not speak without much sighing and sadness, and also great shedding of tears, he remained in the flesh after that for four years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE PASSING AWAY TO THE LORD OF OUR HOLY PATRON COLUMBA.

Shortly before the end of the above-mentioned four years, after the fulfilment of which, as he, a true prophet, knew long beforehand, the term of his present life was to be completed; one day in the month of May, as we have written above (p. 79) in the second book, the old man, borne in

a wagon, being feeble with age, goes to visit the working brethren. To whom, while at their labours in the western part of the Iouan island (Iona), on that day he began to speak thus; saying, 'During the Paschal solemnity in the month of April last past, with desire I desired to pass away to Christ the Lord; as indeed had been granted me by Him, if I had preferred it. But, lest your festival of gladness should be turned into sorrow, I chose rather that the day of my departure out of the world should be put off a little longer.' The monks of his household, when they heard from him these mournful tidings, were greatly distressed, and he began to cheer them, so far as in him lay, with words of consolation. Which being ended, as he was sitting in the carriage, he turned his face to the east, and blessed the island with the dwellers in that island home; from which day, as has been written in the above-mentioned book (p. 80), the poisons of the three-cleft tongues of vipers even to this day have not been able in any way to hurt either man or beast. After those words of benediction the Saint is carried back to his monastery.

Then, in the next place, in the course of a few days, while the solemnities of masses were being celebrated, according to custom, on the Lord's day; all on a sudden the face of the venerable man, as his eyes are lifted upward, is seen suffused with a ruddy glow, for, as it is written, 'When the heart is glad the face blooms.' For in that same hour he alone saw an angel of the Lord hovering above within the walls of his oratory. And, because the lovely and tranquil aspect of the holy angels pours joy and gladness into the hearts of the elect, this was the cause of that sudden gladness imparted to the blessed man. And when those who were therein present inquired as to what, mark you, was the cause of the joy that was kindled within him, the Saint, looking upward, gave them this reply: 'Wonderful and incomparable is the subtilty of the nature of angels. For, behold, an angel of the Lord, sent to demand some deposit dear to God, looking down from above upon us within the

church, and blessing us, has returned again through the vaulting of the church, and has left no traces of such an exit.' So far the Saint. But yet, as to the nature of that deposit for which the angel was sent to make inquiry, not one of those who were standing around was able to form an opinion Our patron, however, gave the name of a holy deposit to his own soul, which had been entrusted to him by God ; which soul, as will be narrated below, in the night of the next Lord's day, six days in succession coming between, passed away to the Lord.

And so the venerable man at the end of the same week, that is on the Sabbath day (Saturday), himself and his dutiful attendant Diormit, go to bless the granary, which was close at hand. On entering which, when he blessed both it and two heaps of corn that were stored therein, he uttered these words with giving of thanks, saying, 'I greatly congratulate the monks of my household that this year also, if I should have to depart from you to any place, ye will have enough for the year.' On hearing this saying, Diormit his attendant began to be sorrowful, and to speak thus: 'In the course of this year, Father, thou art often making us sorrowful, because thou so frequently makest mention of thy departure.' To whom the Saint gave this reply, 'I have some little secret discourse, and if thou wilt faithfully promise me not to disclose it to any one before my death, I shall be able to give thee some clearer intimation concerning my departure.' When the attendant, on bended knees, had completed some such promise, according to the wish of the Saint, the venerable man in the next place thus speaks: 'This day is in the sacred volumes called Sabbath, which is, being interpreted, Rest. And for me this day is a Sabbath indeed, because it is the last day of this my present laborious life, in which I take my rest after all the wearinesses of my labours. And in the middle of this most solemn night (eve) of the Lord's day that is now coming, according to the saying of the Scriptures, "I

shall go the way of my fathers." For even now my Lord Jesus Christ deigneth to invite me, to Whom, I say, in the middle of this night, I shall depart, at His invitation. For thus it hath been revealed unto me by the Lord Himself.' The attendant on hearing these sad words began to weep bitterly, but the Saint endeavoured to console him as well as he could.

After this, the Saint goes out of the granary, and, returning to the monastery, sits down at the half-way, in which place a cross, afterwards fixed in a millstone, and standing at this day, is to be seen on the side of the road. And while the Saint, feeble with age, as I said before, sat down for a little while and rested in that place, behold! there comes up to him the white horse, that faithful servant, mark you, that used to carry the milk-pails between the cow-pasture (or byre?) and the monastery. This creature then coming up to the Saint, wonderful to say, putting its head in his bosom, as I believe under the inspiration of God, in Whose sight every animal is endowed with a sense of things, because the Creator Himself hath so ordered it; knowing that his master would soon depart from him, and that he would see his face no more, began to utter plaintive moans, and, as if a man, to shed tears in abundance into the Saint's lap, and so to weep, frothing greatly. Which when the attendant saw, he began to drive away that weeping mourner; but the Saint forbad him, saying, 'Let him alone! As he loves me so, let him alone; that into this my bosom he may pour out the tears of his most bitter lamentation. Behold! thou, even seeing that thou art a man, and hast a rational soul, couldest in no way know anything about my departure, except what I myself have lately shown to thee; but to this brute animal, destitute of reason, in what way soever the Maker Himself hath willed, He hath revealed that his master is about to go away from him.' And, so saying, he blessed his sorrowing servant the horse, then turning about to go away from him.

And going forth thence, he ascended the little hill that overlooks the monastery, and stood for a little while on the top of it, and, standing with both hands lifted up, he blessed the monastery, saying, 'To this place, small and mean though it be, not only the Scotic kings (Irish and Dalriadic) with their peoples, but also the rulers of strange and foreign nations, with the people subject to them, shall bring great and extraordinary honour; by the Saints also of other churches shall no common reverence be shown.'

After these words, descending from that little hill, and returning to the monastery, he sat in his cell transcribing the Psalter; and coming to that verse of the thirty-third (34th) Psalm where it is written, 'But they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good,' 'Here,' he says, 'at the end of the page, I must cease. What follows let Baithene write.' The last verse which he had written was very suitable for the Saint at his departure, to whom eternal things that are good shall never be wanting; while the following verse was most suitable for his successor, as a father and teacher of spiritual sons: 'Come, ye children, and hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' And indeed he, as his predecessor enjoined, succeeded him not only in teaching, but also in transcribing.

After the transcription of the aforesaid verse, at the end of the page, the Saint enters the church for the evening mass (evensong) of the Lord's day night (eve), and as soon as this is over he returns to his cell, where he had bare rock for his bedding, and a stone for his pillow, which at this day is standing by his grave as a kind of sepulchral monument; and he sits on the bed through the night. And so, there sitting, he gives his last commands to the brethren, in the hearing of his attendant only; saying, 'These last words, O my children, I commend unto you; that ye have mutual and unfeigned charity among yourselves, with peace. And if, according to the example of the holy fathers, ye shall attend to this, God, the Comforter of good men,

will help you ; and I, abiding with Him, will intercede for you. And not only shall the necessaries of this present life be sufficiently supplied by Him, but He will also bestow those rewards of eternal riches, which are laid up for them that keep His Divine laws.' Thus far we have drawn up, recounted in a short paragraph, the last words of our venerable patron, spoken just as he was passing over from this weary pilgrimage unto the heavenly country.

After which, as his happy last hour gradually approached, the Saint was silent. Then, in the next place, in the middle of the night, at the sound of the ringing of the bell, he rises in haste and goes to the church ; and, running more quickly than the rest, he enters alone, and on bended knees falls down in prayer beside the altar. Diormit his attendant, following more slowly, at the same moment sees from a distance that the whole church is filled within, in the direction of the Saint, with angelic light. But when he approaches the door, the same light that he had seen, which was also seen by a few other of the brethren, as they were standing at a distance, quickly disappeared. So Diormit, entering the church, keeps on asking, in a lamentable voice, 'Where art thou, Father?' And, feeling his way through the darkness, the lights of the brethren not yet being brought in, he finds the Saint prostrate before the altar ; and, lifting him up a little and sitting beside him, he placed the holy head in his bosom. And meanwhile, the congregation of monks running up with the lights, and seeing their father dying, began to weep. And, as we have learnt from some who were there present, the Saint, his soul not yet departing, with his eyes opened upward, looked about on either hand with a wonderful cheerfulness and joy of countenance ; doubtless seeing the holy angels coming to meet him. Then Diormit lifts up the holy right hand of the Saint that he may bless the choir of monks. But also the venerable man himself, so far as he could, at the same time moved his hand, so that, mark you, he might still

be seen, while passing away, to bless the brethren by the motion of his hand, though he was not able to do so with his voice. And, after his holy benediction thus expressed, he immediately breathed out his spirit. Which having left the tabernacle of the body, his face remained ruddy, and wonderfully gladdened by an angelic vision; so that it appeared not to be that of one dead, but of one living and sleeping. Meanwhile the whole church resounded with mournful lamentations.

But there is a thing which seems not one to be passed over, which was revealed to a certain Saint of Ireland at the same hour in which his blessed soul departed. For in that monastery which in the Scotic (Irish) tongue is named Cloni-finchoil (Rosnarea?) there was a certain holy man, an aged soldier of Christ, just and wise, who was named Lugud son of Tailchan. Now this man early in the morning, with many sighs, related his vision to one who was, equally with himself, a Christian soldier, Fergno by name; saying, 'In the middle of this last night, the holy Columba, the pillar of many churches, passed away to the Lord. And in the hour of his blessed departure, I saw in the spirit the whole of the Iouan island (Iona), to which I have never come in the body, irradiated by the brightness of angels, and the whole space of the air up to the ethereal regions of the heavens illumined by the brightness of the same angels, who, sent from heaven, descended in countless numbers to bear away his holy soul. High-sounding strains also, and very sweet songs of the angelic hosts, did I hear in the very moment of the departure of his holy soul among the angelic choirs ascending up on high.' Virgno (Fergno), rowing over in those days from Scotia (Ireland), and spending the remaining days of his life in Hinba island (Eilean-na-Naoimh, one of the Garveloch isles?), used very often to narrate to the monks of St. Columba this vision of angels. And he, as has been said above, had undoubtedly heard it from the lips of that aged Saint to whom it had been revealed. Which

Virgno, to wit, after many years completed among the brethren in obedience and without reproach, completed other twelve years in a place of anchorites in Muirbulcmar (in Hinba ?), leading an anchorite's life, a victorious soldier of Christ. This aforesaid vision we have not only found committed to writing, but have heard related without any hesitation by some experienced elders to whom Virgno himself had related it.

Another vision also, revealed at the same hour in a different way, one of those who saw it, a soldier of Christ, a very old man, whose name also can be expressed as Ferreolus, but in Scotic (Irish) Ernene (diminutive of Iarn, iron), of the clan Mocufirroide, who among the remains of other monks of St. Columba, himself also a holy monk, buried in the Ridge of Tomma (Drumhome), is waiting for the resurrection with the Saints, he, I say, related it to me, Adamnan, a youth at that time, with most assured testimony, saying, 'In that night in which St. Columba, by a happy and blessed death, passed away from earth to heaven, I and other men with me, while labouring in the taking of fish in the valley of the fishful river Fenda (the Finn, co. Donegal), saw the whole space of the aerial sky suddenly illuminated. Struck by the suddenness of this miracle, we lifted up our eyes and turned them to the east, and, lo! there appeared as it were some very great fiery pillar, which as it ascended upward in the middle of that night appeared to us to enlighten the whole world, even as the summer's noonday sun. And after that pillar had ascended through the sky, then darkness followed, as after the setting of the sun. And so not only did we, who were together in that place, behold with vast admiration the brightness of this luminous and remarkable pillar; but many other fishermen also, who were fishing here and there about the different river fish-pools of the same river, were struck by a great fear at the sight of a like apparition, as they afterwards related to us.' The miracles, then, of these three visions appearing in that

same hour of the departure of our venerable patron, bear witness to the eternal honours conferred upon him by the Lord. Let us now return to our main subject.

Meanwhile, after the departure of his holy soul, the hymns for the morning being ended, the sacred body is carried back, with the tuneful psalmody of the brethren, from the church to the cell from which a little before he had come alive. And for three days and as many nights his august obsequies are celebrated with all due honour and ceremonial. And these being ended in the sweet praises of God, the venerable body of our holy and blessed patron, wrapped in clean linen cloths and placed in a coffin (or grave ?) that was prepared for it, is buried with due reverence, to rise again in luminous and eternal brightness.

Now, what has been told us by experienced men concerning those above-mentioned three days of the obsequies, accomplished in due ecclesiastical form, shall here be narrated, towards the close of this book. For, indeed, on one occasion a certain one of the brethren, speaking in a simple way in the presence of the venerable man, says to the Saint, 'After thy death, all the people of these provinces will row across to celebrate thine obsequies, and will fill this Iouan island (Iona).' On hearing this saying, the Saint immediately replies, 'O my child, the event will not prove to be as thou sayest, for a promiscuous throng of the common people will in no wise be able to come to my obsequies. The monks of my household alone will execute my burial rites, and honour the funeral offices.' Which prophetic saying of his the omnipotence of God caused to be fulfilled immediately after his departure ; for, during those three days and nights of the obsequies, there came a great storm of wind without rain, which being an effectual obstacle, no one carried in a small boat was able to cross the Sound in either direction. And after the completion of the burial of the blessed man, the storm was stayed, and the wind ceased, and the whole of the sea became calm.

Let the reader therefore weigh well in how great and in what manner of honour our famous patron is esteemed in the sight of God, to whom at one time and another, while he was living in mortal flesh, God granted that at his prayer storms were stayed and seas made calm. And again, when he found it necessary, on the above-mentioned occasion (p. 138), the gales of winds arose when he wished, and the stormy seas were lashed into fury. And then immediately, as has been said above, when the rites of his burial were completed, they were turned into a great calm.

This, then, was the end of our illustrious patron's life, those, the beginnings of his deserts, who, according to passages of the Scriptures, is a sharer in eternal triumphs, added to the Fathers, united with the Apostles and Prophets, gathered in the number of the white-robed thousands of the Saints who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb; he followeth the Lamb as his leader, a virgin immaculate, pure from every stain, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself; to Whom with the Father is ascribed honour, virtue, praise, glory, and eternal dominion, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever.

After reading these three little books, let each diligent reader note well of how great and of what manner of merit was our holy and venerable abbot, so often mentioned above; of how great and of what manner of honour he was esteemed in the sight of God; how great and on what manner were those angelical and luminous visits to himself; how great was the grace of prophecy that was in him; how great the efficacy of Divine virtues; how great and how frequent the brightness of Divine light that shone around him while yet abiding in this mortal flesh; which same celestial brightness, even after the departure of his most kindly soul from the tabernacle of the body, does not cease to shine around the place in which his sacred bones rest; where also there is a frequent visitation of angels, as is considered proved, being shown to certain chosen persons. And this extraordinary

favour has also been conferred by God on the same man of blessed memory, by which, though he lived in this small and remote island of the British sea, his name has merited to be honourably noised abroad, not only throughout the whole of our own Scotia (Ireland), and Britain, the greatest of all the islands of the whole world; but to reach even as far as three-cornered Spain, and the Gauls, and Italy, which lies beyond the Pennine Alps, yea, even to the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities. So great and such notable honour is known, among other marks of Divine favour, to have been conferred on the same Saint by God, Who loves them that love Him, and, more and more glorifying those who magnify Him with sweet praises, lifts them up on high with immeasurable honours, Who is blessed for ever. Amen.

I beseech those, whoever they may be, that wish to transcribe these books, yea rather, I adjure them by Christ the Judge of the worlds, that after they have diligently transcribed, they will collate and correct them with all care, according to the copy from which they have written, and also subscribe this adjuration in its place:—

Whosoever reads these books of the virtues of Columba, let him pray God for me, Dorbhene, that I may possess eternal life after death.

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